

IN THESE TIMES

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Pat Goudvis

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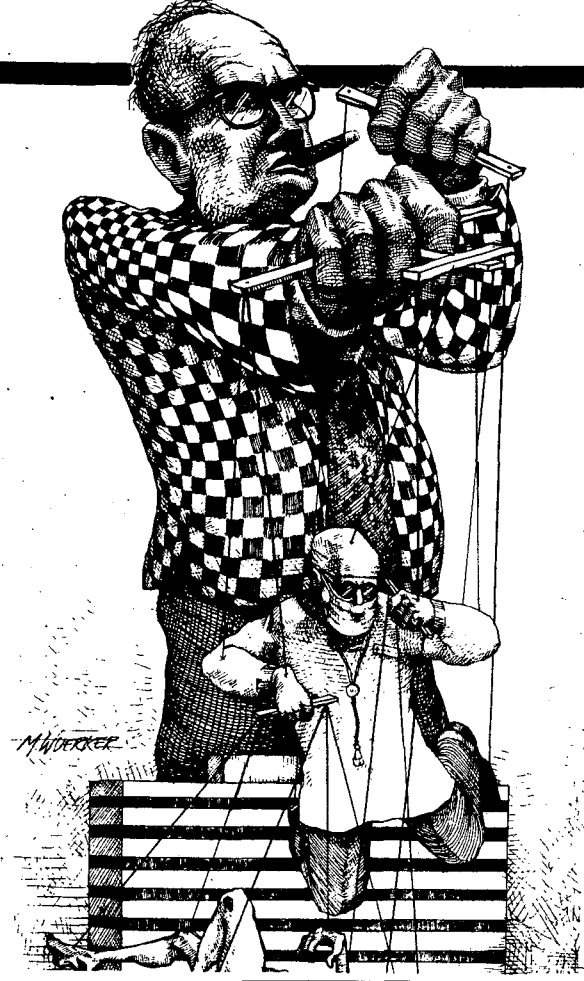
George Shultz

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Lucy Lippard
on art
and politics

THE INSIDE STORY



Dialysis cutbacks: Scaring the victim

By Helen Cordes

WASHINGTON

The first thought that crossed Tildia Nichols' mind when she read the letter from her kidney dialysis clinic was "Oh, my God, I'm going to die." The letter warned Nichols that if a proposed federal regulation lowering Medicare payments to the clinic for dialysis went into effect, the clinic would have to shut down. Nichols was then urged to register her protests with federal officials and legislators.

"I've got to have dialysis three times a week to stay alive," explained the 50-year-old woman, showing a visitor the six-inch purple scars on her forearms where the large needles regularly siphon her blood to be purified in the artificial kidney machines. Closing the clinic, which is a short bus ride away from the crumbling apartment projects in Landover, Md., where Nichols lives alone, could seal her off permanently from the life-sustaining machines.

So Nichols painstakingly typed an impassioned letter to Secretary Richard Schweiker, the federal Health and Human Services (HHS) head who oversees the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA), the agency that is shepherding the new regulations. She later joined dozens of other kidney patients at a Washington rally, where the protesters performed dialysis before the eyes of several stunned members of Congress.

It seems Nichols' story was being repeated all over the nation. Hundreds of other patients agreed with Nichols' sentiments—that this was one more example of how the Reagan administration has taken advantage of the disadvantaged. That may be, but the story being hidden from the patients is one that is typical of the corporate health industry that has come to dominate the health care field—an industry that, like other industries, considers profits the bottom line.

The Bio-Medical Applications (BMA) clinic that Nichols depends on is just one of 155 owned by National Medical Care, Inc. (NMC), the world's largest provider of dialysis treatment and manufacturer of dialysis equipment. Her letter was part of a massive publicity campaign aimed at patients at 55 NMC clinics threatened with closure by company officials, a campaign now under attack by congressional and ad-

ministration officials alike. Noting the diversified company's health growth rate—one that last year alone garnered an income of over \$220 million—critics are blasting NMC's moves as a "destructive scare tactic."

"It's caused real panic," said New York representative William Rangel, who chaired committee hearings on the dialysis reimbursement issue. "Patients are scared as hell they'll be denied care through a so-called 'educational campaign' that seems highly questionable."

NMC's critics were doubly outraged when they learned of a just-completed federal audit of dialysis clinics. Records of NMC transactions suggest that the same company that had been singing the swan song had been quietly padding its profits all along.

A favored technique, according to the HHS audit, was overstating the cost of supplies and services, some of which were purchased from NMC subsidiaries. The report noted that "cost reporting improprieties [had] resulted in excess payments of \$1.4 million for the period 1974 through 1980.... The excess payments are still continuing" to NMC-owned Queens Artificial Kidney Center in New York.

The disclosure of such behavior seems to have sealed an atypical agreement between Congress and the administration to a series of cost cuts to the dialysis program, including trimming payments to for-profit clinics like NMC's. The cuts are aimed at a program that has, since its outset, been an expensive one, soaking up \$1.8 billion annually. The cost represents nearly 10 percent of the nation's Medicare budget, yet benefits less than one-fourth of one percent of all Medicare recipients.

The providers themselves describe the kidney, or End Stage Renal Disease (ESRD) program, as a "Cadillac" program, one that rode smoothly on reimbursements allowing for frequent profit. The benevolent reimbursement scheme, however, was charted 10 years ago when kidney dialysis was a luxury only available for the rich and a chosen few. Before Medicare took over its current 93 percent funding of dialysis treatments, ethics panels were forced to select the most deserving patients—typically the young and the moderately healthy. Shocked by the specter of doctors "playing God," Congress directed Medicare to pick up the tab for everyone needing dialysis.

As soon as the measure passed, business skyrocketed for firms like NMC. From the 72 centers NMC had established in 1975, clinics nearly doubled to the present 155. Concurrently, NMC profits soared to a compounded annual rate of 59.7 percent, with last year's earnings posting a 32 percent increase.

The profits are based on low overhead and improved technology for a simple procedure—one that many patients can do at home. Typically, a clinic like Nichols' might treat eight patients at a time, in three rotating shifts a day. Attendants "hook up" patients to machines, then supervise as patients sit quietly for their four-hour dialysis.

Each treatment garners NMC \$138. But the new regulations would cut clinic reimbursements by \$12 to \$128. Dr. Carolyn Davis, HCFA administrator, estimates that sum is still well above the clinics' median costs of \$108 per treatment.

Payments to hospitals providing the dialysis service were lowered slightly to \$132 a treatment. But while some hospitals claim the proposed lower sum does not adequately account for higher overhead expenses,

HCFA officials point out that hospitals are still eligible for exceptions granting higher reimbursements, a mechanism that over a third of them claimed in the past.

Both administration officials and legislators say their ultimate goal is a return to home dialysis, a practice that has dwindled rapidly since the inception of the program from 40 percent to the current 17 percent. Many patients were diverted from home dialysis by recommendations from doctors, some of whom were connected with the dialysis business. Others sought the security of the clinic or hospital supervision.

For the federal cost-cutters, though, home dialysis' big plus is that it is the cheapest technique, averaging \$97 a treatment. All agree that home dialysis isn't suitable for weak or elderly patients like Nichols, but, historically, few doctors have endorsed it even for able patients. "It's more inconvenient for doctors to see patients spread all around," said Robert Green, chairman of the board of Community Psychiatric Centers, the California-based dialysis chain that is NMC's chief competitor. "Doctors won't go for home dialysis unless they're paid for the inconveniences."

But HCFA's Davis pointed out that doctors need not perform actual supervision, suggesting that a family member, friend or health aide can and has performed the same function. Patient groups, while fearing the overall impact of reimbursement cuts, agree that home dialysis has been underutilized in the past.

NMC officials acknowledge that they could gain from increased home dialysis, since the company is one of the biggest suppliers of home dialysis equipment. But they continue to claim that the new regulations will force them to "put the squeeze somewhere." And William Elder, administrator for six Maryland clinics, suggests that shutting down clinics is the likely result.

One angry HCFA official discounted NMC's panic proposal, however. "None of these clinics is going to close," he said. "If NMC wants to get out of the field, someone else is going to snap up those clinics."

While NMC founder and head Dr. Constantine Hampers frets that the profit margin from the dialysis centers has sunk to 13 percent, his message to shareholders is also loaded with optimism. The results of the company's diversification—which accelerated when attempts to raise the dialysis reimbursement rates were rebuffed under the Carter administration—are beginning to bear fruit.

Hampers noted the quick growth in patients and revenue from the company's latest venture, obesity clinics, where NMC expanded three-fold to its current 27 clinics nationwide in little over a year. Another sideline, respiratory therapy clinics, now number 10 and NMC recently opened two juvenile diabetic centers.

With a potential lull in the dialysis business in the U.S., NMC is expanding its dialysis market in Europe, where dialysis is now becoming more accessible. The company opened its dialysis equipment manufacturing plant in Ireland in 1980, and is working on two other centers in Lisbon and Madrid.

That cheery corporate chatter wasn't part of the message that Nichols and other dialysis patients received, of course. But it does appear that NMC has neutered its doom directives. "We don't hear anymore about our clinic being closed," noted Nichols last week. "I'm not sure why they scared us like that." ■ *Helen Cordes is a Washington-based journalist who specializes in health care issues.*

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Shultz treated with kid gloves

By John Judis

THE CAST OF CHARACTERS WAS completely different, but the script seemed borrowed from the previous administration. On June 23, Sec. of State Alexander Haig resigned because he said American foreign policy "was shifting from the careful course we had laid out." Haig was the second secretary of state in two years, but only the third in the 20th century to resign in midterm because of political differences.

Just as President Jimmy Carter chose a man of similar views to replace Cyrus Vance, Reagan chose Bechtel president and former Nixon administration official George Shultz to step in for Haig. The choice of Shultz temporarily defused critics who were ready to interpret Haig's departure as the sign of an abrupt shift to the right in administration policy.

Indeed, on American relations with Israel and its Arab neighbors, Shultz's appointment indicates a more balanced approach. Shultz used his July 13-14 confirmation hearings, which are usually devoted to vague reiterations of administration policy, to declare that the Palestinians "must be included" in future Camp David negotiations and to criticize both the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the Israeli removal of elected Palestinian officials on the West Bank and Gaza.

But while Shultz will probably take the more moderate line on Arab-Israeli matters and on critical questions affecting American relations with the Soviet Union and Western Europe, he will be debating officials who after two years have already organized their factions within the Pentagon and National Security Council (NSC), and who, prior to Haig's resignation, were beginning to win the president over to their point of view.

Like former Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), who replaced Vance after Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski had already gotten the upper hand in administration battles, Shultz will have difficulty slowing the momentum of Sec. of Defense Caspar Weinberger and his NSC allies.

During its first year and a half, the debate in the Reagan administration has focused primarily on American relations with Western Europe and the Soviet Union, American nuclear arms strategy, including the American posture on arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union and American relations with the Peoples Republic of China and Taiwan. Haig, dubbed a "multilateralist," sought desperately to maintain an alliance with Western Europe and China against the Soviet Union, continuing Brzezinski's strategy.

This meant that Haig was willing to bow to Europe's less militant posture toward Polish martial law, East-West trade and the arms race in order to maintain Europe's partnership. Haig's views were seen by his critics as reflecting those of West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

The "unilateralists"—as Haig's opponents in the Pentagon and NSC were called—placed their priority on any measures that would weaken the Soviet Union, regardless of their affect on American relations with Europe. Led by Commerce Department official Lawrence Brady, they called for "economic warfare" with the Soviet Union. They were determined to halt the flow of credits to the Soviet Union from Western Europe and to sabotage the Soviet-West European natural gas pipeline. They saw the arms race both as a means of securing a "margin of safety"—superiority—over the Soviet Union and as a means of bankrupting the weakened Soviet economy.

Haig also clashed with some NSC

members over relations with mainland China. Haig was always willing to sacrifice relations with Taiwan to improve relations with China. Backed by Undersecretary Walter Stoessel and Assistant Secretary John Holdridge, Haig had blocked sales of the F-5G fighter plane to Taiwan and was holding up sales of the F-5E. In May, the State Department had reportedly drafted a communique declaring that "it is not the long-term policy of the U.S. to sell arms to Taiwan." But the administration is currently rumored to be tilting back toward Taiwan.

Prevailing with pride.

In the first year and a half of the Reagan administration, Haig won most of the battles with the NSC and the Pentagon. He convinced Reagan not to declare Poland in default and to adopt a more constructive posture toward arms negotiations with the Soviet Union. He even succeeded in ousting his foe, Security Advis-

or Richard Allen.

But in the last several months, Haig's enemies, aided by an emboldened National Security Advisor William Clark, engineered several rebuffs to Haig. The most important was Reagan's decision on June 17 to widen the sanctions against the sale of American equipment for use in the Soviet-European pipeline. His announcement that now European firms could not sell equipment with American components took both the allies and Haig by surprise.

In May and June, Haig's adversaries also announced a new "defense guidance" and its contents were leaked to the press. While the defense guidance largely governed Pentagon procurement, it also endorsed Weinberger and the NSC's strategic perspective.

The new guidance was developed by a committee of the NSC chaired by Thomas C. Reed, a former Air Force secretary and crony of Reagan and Clark. The guidance not only included plans for readying the U.S. to fight a "prolonged nuclear war," it also was based on the unilateralists' concept of economic warfare.

In a June 16 address to the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association, Reed explained the new strategy of "prevailing with pride" over the Soviet Union. Reed said the strategies of containment and detente initiated by Presidents Truman and Nixon, respectively, were based on "the unspoken fear that the Soviet military industrial locomotive might be unstoppable. That is no

longer our view. Prevailing with pride is the principal new ingredient of American security policy."

Reed described the Soviet Union as an "economic basketcase," highly vulnerable to both a renewed arms race and a trade cutoff from the U.S.

In June, there were even hints that the American negotiating posture on the START talks was shifting toward the intransigent position advocated by Weinberger and his aide Richard Perle. In a NSC meeting last month, Reagan rejected a Weinberger proposal that the negotiations be based initially on a demand of equal throw-weight of American and Soviet nuclear forces for a proposal centered on reducing the number of missiles and warheads.

Most defense experts believe that the Soviet advantage in throw-weight is more than compensated by the American advantage in the number of warheads in air- and submarine-based missiles and systems. A proposal focused on throw-weight would, in effect, have demanded that the Soviet Union abandon its only counter to what would otherwise be an overall American edge.

Reagan agreed to postpone the discussion of throw-weight to the second phase of the arms talks and to focus first on sheer numbers. While such a focus can also benefit the U.S. rather than the Soviet Union, it is at least regarded as a basis for discussion. But in subsequent leaks from the NSC, the American negotiating position has become ambiguous. According to a recent *New York Times* report, the NSC decided that phase one and two would be a "single negotiation."

Most policy experts assume that on the Soviet-European and arms issues, Shultz

Continued on page 8

His confirmation hearings provided only the faintest clues as to how he might line up.



IN SHORT

All the news unfit to print

Recently, a statue of the Virgin Mary started sweating in Nicaragua to express her displeasure with the Sandinista revolution. So goes a recent story in the opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*. Yet according to Fred Landis, co-author of *Death in Washington: The Assassination of Orlando Letelier*, it is more likely that the CIA started sweating in *La Prensa*. Lecturing in Santa Barbara last month, Landis charged that the CIA, as part of a broader destabilization effort, has taken over major newspapers in Latin America by elevating newspaper owners to the board of directors of the CIA-influenced Inter-American Press Association, and then firing typesetters—usually members of left-wing unions—along with members of the editorial staff. "A principal theme (of the new papers) is to associate mutilated bodies, plagues and unnatural events with government leaders," Landis said. He then claimed that the CIA has access to 200 to 300 newspapers around the world and spends \$1.25 billion of its \$10 billion annual budget on media operations.

The "secret" is out at CBS

If you're a white, male American not only are you more likely to be employed, but also—in the TV business at least—you are more likely to be watched. It's no secret that white males have long dominated the TV screen, but TAPE, a British consulting firm, has turned that knowledge into cold cash. For five years it has been advising CBS executives how to strike it big: Stick with white males and stay away from foreigners, some ethnic groups—Orientals, Puerto Ricans, Slavs, (American blacks, Mexicans and Jews are O.K.)—intellectuals and artists. According to Harvey Shephard, vice-president of CBS Entertainment, "When we do films, clearly what we do is try not to do too many with low TAPE scores."

A 12-page memo describing TAPE's methods was written two months ago to acquaint new CBS program executives with "what was important and what to stay away from." Bad programs included "someone with a superior intellect who can outwit somebody without even soiling his hands," but war, especially WW II, was considered good, as was aggressive populism represented by the little guy fighting the system. CBS recently decided to stop using TAPE after the memo was leaked to the public. In a *New York Times* article, David Fuchs, vice-president of CBS, said the prospect of publicity about the service "had something to do with the cancellation. It would be very difficult to explain." Fuchs also told *In These Times*, "There's nothing wrong with taking a story idea and saying, 'What are the elements of appeal here?' What we all were concerned about is that now people have a laundry list to work with."

Prisoners go for broke

Ira Distenfield, a 36-year-old Beverly Hills stockbroker, is living proof that the private sector can compensate for public programs lost to budget cuts. Disappointed by the steady decrease in prison job training skills and work programs, Distenfield decided that the time was right to teach prisoners something useful: How to score big on Wall Street. Before being let loose on the market with their \$10,000 in phony money, inmates are treated to Distenfield's special expertise, copies of business papers and guest appearances by models of fame and fortune such as Hugh Hefner, Marshall Field III and even Jane Fonda.

Distenfield started his class in Illinois after he learned of "budget cutbacks at the Illinois prisons and knew that rehabilitation programs aren't what they could be, so I thought it would be a challenge to motivate prisoners to work within the capitalistic system rather than against it." Apparently, his course paid off, at least for Wall Street. Eighty percent of the 5,000 graduates ended up with less imaginary money than they started with.

One prisoner in a California penitentiary, where the course was also taught, commented, "It's a way to forget where I'm at. I guess you could say the class is escapism sanctioned by the warden." Gambling has the same effect.

Blood, sweat and tears

Some homecoming present. It seems the 129 British seamen who served on a requisitioned merchant ship in the Falkland Islands War returned home recently only to discover that their employer, the P and O shipping group, had fired all of them. P and O plans to replace the 129 seamen and 92 others aboard a South Atlantic luxury vessel with Indian workers at a quarter of the union basic pay or \$138 a month. A spokesman for the British National Union of Seamen offered these words of comfort: "It is tragic that men who have risked their lives and been hailed as heroes by the prime minister herself should return from the conflict to find themselves on the quayside with no jobs." Welcome back to the war at home.

—Nina Berman



Car in parking lot of the Cherry Hill Hyatt, site of the 1982 Right to Life convention

Abortion foes back-to-back

CHERRY HILL, NJ—It sounded like a '60s flashback. Strains of "We Shall Overcome" rose through the hot, still air. Gray-haired women sang "Give Peace a Chance" as they marched carrying placards.

At the convention from which they came, workshop leaders had spoken of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, and there was mention of Bonhoeffer and the need to fight for principles in order to save lives.

Yet this rally of about 500 members of the National Right To Life Committee (NRL)—with their white balloons and styro-foam straw hats—looked more like a leisurely stroll of delegates at the Republican National Convention. And the chief of Republicans—Ronald Reagan—had made his appearance the day before with yet another movie (8 min.). In it he urged the convention members to pursue a "human rights amendment to the Constitution," and called abortion "an assault on the sacredness of human life."

The Right to Life (RTL) convention, held July 16-18, was billed as "A New Birth of Freedom." Subjects at over 40 workshops ranged from "The Hard Cases (rape, incest, etc.)," and "Women Exploited (victims of the abortion mentality)" to "Non-Violent Direct Action."

"The only thing that's different from what Martin Luther King did is that we're standing up for people that can't stand up for themselves," said workshop leader Mary O'Malley, co-founder of PEACE, Inc., (People Expressing Active Concern for Everyone). "Unborn children can't riot in the streets."

At the rally protesting "The American Holocaust," Pennsylvania state legislator Stephen Freind was cheered loudly when he announced that he had received this year's "Barefoot and Pregnant" award. (The Pennsylvania National Organization for Women [NOW] had awarded the prize to Freind for his work on the restrictive Abortion Control Act, which was signed into law in Pennsylvania in June.) Freind told the nearly all white

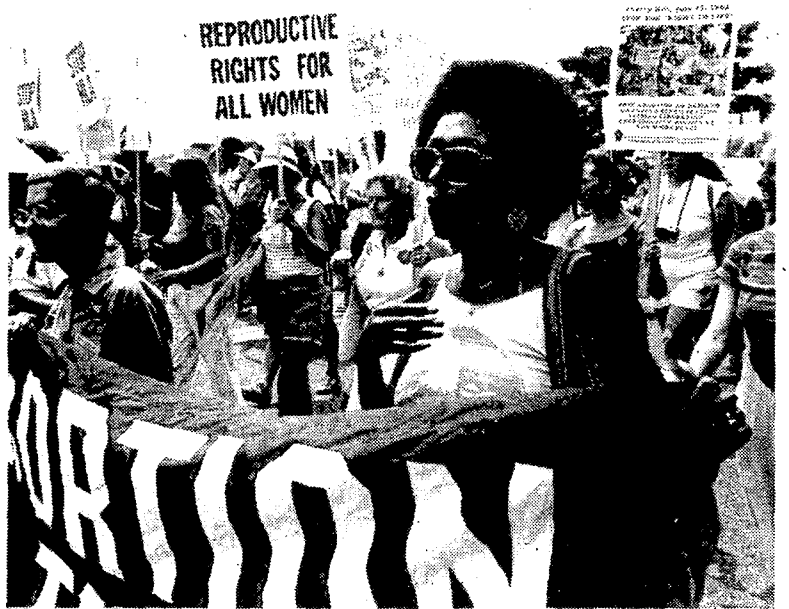
audience that the fight against abortion is like the fight for the abolition of slavery. "And like the abolitionists, we're going to win, because we're right," he said.

But just a mile down the road, almost 7,000 people turned out for the first nationally planned and organized demonstration for legal abortion since before the 1973 Supreme Court decision that legalized it. The crowd listened to a variety of speakers and music, and baked in the scorching sun.

"We have staged this three-day action because the National Right to Life Committee is in

Prior to Saturday's rally, "In Support of Women's Lives" held a press conference in the Hyatt Hotel, the site of the RTL convention. At the press conference, Rabbi Rebecca Alpert, a former instructor of Holocaust Studies at Rutgers University, criticized the anti-abortion movement's comparison of abortion with the Holocaust of the Jews. Calling the analogy "audacious" and "totally inappropriate," she noted that the Nazis banned abortion because they considered abortion and contraception a "violation of motherhood."

And Pennsylvania State Rep.



Almost 7,000 people marched in a nationally organized demonstration supporting women's right to legal abortion.

the forefront of a movement to deny women a right that is legally ours: to medically safe and accessible abortions," said Ann Baker, coordinator of "In Support of Women's Lives," a coalition of about 130 organizations nationwide.

Co-coordinator Jean Hunt emphasized the need to work against legislation creeping through Congress, like the proposed "Human Life Federalism Amendment" introduced by Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) to exclude abortion from constitutional protection; a "Human Life Amendment" and separate bill introduced by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) declaring that a fetus is a person from conception; and a bill by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) to prohibit federal funding of agencies that provide abortion counseling or referral, teach abortion techniques or sponsor abortion-related activities.

Ruth Harper said that black women are deeply offended by the anti-abortion movement's comparison of abortion with slavery. "If comparisons are to be made at all," she said, "the anti-abortion movement has much in common with the slave-owners, and nothing in common with the struggle for freedom."

—Paul Choitz

How much is enough?

NEW YORK—For years antinuclear activists have joked about the presumed "penis envy" of American and Soviet militarists: Who can possess the biggest rocket. Apparently it was no joke at all. A plastic kit made by the Boeing Aircraft Company—which shows a bunch of huge erect Soviet missiles lined up beside a bunch of puny U.S. ones

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

—helped convince the Carter administration that the big MX missiles project had to be built.

According to William Perry, director of research and engineering in the Defense Department under Carter, Boeing's Freudian model was sent "to anybody who was in a decision-making position in Washington."

Perry, interviewed in a new TV documentary titled *How Much is Enough: Decision-Making in the Nuclear Age*, explains, "It was implied by that model—and some people were explicit about it—that we therefore suffered from inferiority because our missiles were smaller than the Soviets'.... The fact that the Soviet missiles were big originally because of a lagging technology on their part had long since been lost in this discussion."

The documentary, produced by Andrew Stern, director of the broadcast program at UC Berkeley's graduate school of journalism, is loaded with similar disquieting—if grimly humorous—information exposing the idiocy of the arms race. It also exposes the fact that the U.S. has generally been the destabilizing factor in that competition.

For example, in a series of remarkable interviews with arms control negotiators and strategists, Stern shows that the U.S. deliberately blocked the chance for an agreement to ban multiple independent re-entry vehicle (MIRV) warheads. Since the U.S. was five years ahead of the Soviets and wanted to exploit the advantage, the U.S. first proposed the MIRV ban but attached a condition that everyone knew the Soviets would reject: on-site inspection.

The film also reveals how President John Kennedy, who ran against Richard Nixon in 1960 on the issue of a missile gap (much like Ronald Reagan's "window of vulnerability"), plunged ahead with an enormous new missile program even after discovering that the U.S. was far ahead of the Soviet Union in ICBM's—27 missiles to the Soviet's four.

According to General Maxwell Taylor, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff under Kennedy, the size of the new missile force was determined by "Bob McNamara (who) picked that (number 1,000) out as a good number. He asked did that sound high enough to me and I said it certainly was. Whether any further research was made on the subject I don't know. And I doubt it."

How Much is Enough will be aired nationwide on PBS stations on Aug. 6 at 9 p.m. Check with your local public TV station for details.

—Dave Lindorff

Feminist denied tenure

SANTA CRUZ, CA—In some women's prisons during the '70s, most inmates were kept on heavy tranquilizers or other psychotropic drugs. This startling discovery—and a subsequent investigation into the forced use of mind-altering drugs in women's prisons—is largely credited to sociologist Nancy Stoller Shaw.

Despite this widespread recognition, Shaw who has also documented discriminatory practices by jails and maternity wards, was recently denied tenure at the University of California at Santa Cruz (UCSC) in a move that stunned her colleagues and community supporters alike. Shaw will have to leave the university in spring of 1983.

Unanimously approved by her college, board of studies and review scholars across the country, Shaw's tenure was rejected by UCSC Chancellor Robert Sinsheimer because he found her research "very difficult to regard as scholarly."

Sociologists inside and outside UCSC vehemently disagreed with the chancellor's criticism. Some faculty members claimed that Sinsheimer, a molecular biologist, lacked the expertise to evaluate Shaw's social science research. Others charged that Shaw's firing was politically motivated—part of an attempt to weed out left professors who research controversial issues. And many linked Shaw's case to a national trend to promote corporate research at the expense of programs in the humanities.

Particularly disconcerting to the UCSC community was the chancellor's claim that Shaw's work failed "to contribute to the advancement of basic knowledge in her field." Yet her book *Forced Labor*—the result of years of research in maternity wards—was hailed by many scholars as a landmark in medical sociology. And while at Yale University, Shaw completed the first systematic work on health conditions in women's prisons, parts of which appeared in many professional journals and were submitted before a congressional subcommittee investigating the treatment of women inmates.

Reacting to the decision, Shaw said, "My research involves issues of equality—race, sex and class. Because such research deals in painful areas of human interaction, it's inevitable that it generates emotion and controversy."

When her dismissal was announced, hundreds of students and townspeople demonstrated at the University and more than 80 protesters staged a two-day sit-in at the chancellor's office demanding Shaw be given tenure. The chancellor reportedly responded by charging Shaw's supporters with "politicizing" the tenure process.

The university will hold a formal hearing on Shaw's tenure case next fall. Meanwhile, Shaw's lawyers will bring her case before the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

"It's good to be on the right side, but it's not so pleasant to be fired," Shaw said. She believes that the fight ahead encompasses issues much larger than her own promotion, particularly in light of the recent firings of other feminist scholars, including Merle Woo at UC Berkeley and Christine Tanz at the University of Arizona. Her opinion is reflected by the National Women's Studies Association, which recently went on record to support both Shaw and Woo in their fight to gain tenure.

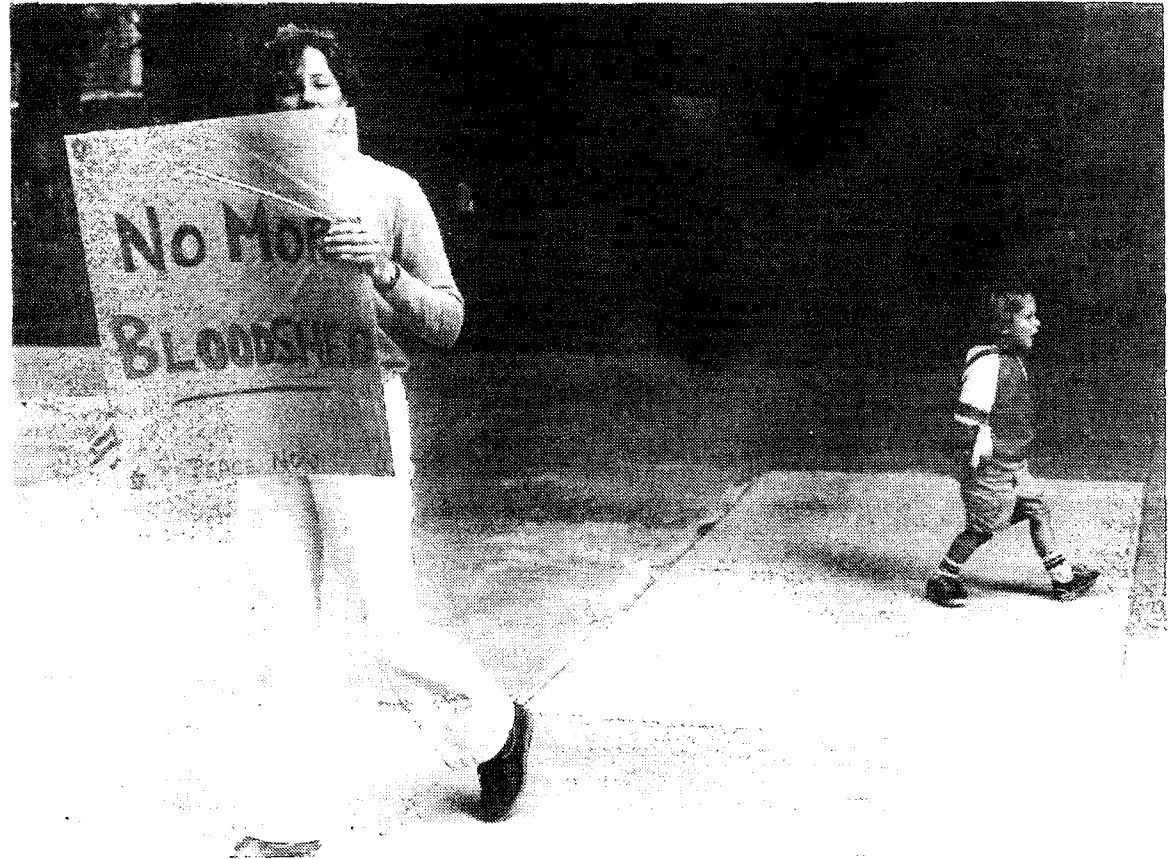
—Ann Scott Knight and Diana Hembre

Briefing: American Jews for peace

The invasion of Lebanon has provoked unprecedented criticism of Israeli policies from Jews in this country as well as in Israel. In a dramatic move—the first ever during wartime—tens of thousands of Israelis recently demonstrated in Tel Aviv to protest their government's actions and to call for a political solution to the Palestinian question. In the U.S., advertisements signed by prominent Jewish leaders,

have to address the tension between progressive Jews and those who have assimilated the political values and economic positions of the American upper-middle class."

Americans for Progressive Israel (API), an organization formed in the '50s to promote the advancement of "socialist Zionism," refutes the notion that Zionism and Palestinian



On July 19, about 100 people rallied in Chicago in support of the Peace Now movement in Israel.

writers, scholars and artists critical of the Israeli offensive, have been appearing regularly in newspapers. According to reports by various American Jewish organizations, since the Israeli invasion there has been an overwhelming increase in calls from people wanting to know how they can help reverse Begin's policies and stop the bloodshed. Here is a run-down of the positions and activities of a few of the American-Jewish organizations protesting the recent Begin-Sharon policies.

The New Jewish Agenda (NJA) is an organization "committed to being a progressive voice in the Jewish community and a Jewish voice in the progressive community," said Gordy Fellman of NJA. Similar to the Israeli Peace Now movement, NJA sees the Israeli invasion "as an attempt to impose a military solution on a political problem." In an ad in the June 30 *New York Times*, it called for a negotiated settlement and mutual recognition. The organization has held several vigils around the country in opposition to the Israeli invasion.

Unlike many other Jewish organizations, according to Fellman, the NJA "proceeds from the notion that the Middle East should not be the sole concern of American Jews, that most of us are not going to live in Israel and that we

nationalism are irreconcilable contradictions. "Socialist Zionism goes hand in hand, in fact necessitates the support of the PLO. Zionism is a progressive liberation movement for the Jewish people and to support one liberation movement means to support others," said Donna Nevel of API.

API, like the NJA, sees the Israeli invasion as an effort to impose a military solution on the Palestinian problem. According to Mark Gold of API, "The goal of the invasion, which today is plainly clear and which has been explicitly stated, is the destruction of the PLO 'infrastructure,' which is not confined to the military component of the PLO, but to the whole social and political component as well. The hope of the Begin government is that the destruction of the PLO infrastructure will cause a collapse of organized Arab opposition within the occupied territories to [Israel's] annexation plans." But Gold added, "This conception is clearly wrong. Palestinian nationalism both inside and outside will not disappear."

At a July 3 rally held by Peace Now in Tel Aviv, API representatives read statements opposing the Israeli invasion and calling for mutual recognition and a negotiated settlement. Unlike other Jewish organizations on the left, API has consistently emphasized the

need to change Israel's economic and social policies along with the nation's military ones.

The America-Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (AICIPP), a support group of the Israeli Council, has repeatedly argued that the PLO is an "essential representative of the Palestinians," that discussion must take place with the PLO and that if the violence is to end, a Palestinian state—based on mutual recognition—must be created. In a historic move, the vice-president of AICIPP and former Knesset Member Uri

Avnery went to Beirut on July 3 for a scheduled interview with Yasir Arafat. The interview followed a call in Paris by prominent Jewish leaders (see story page 11) to end the siege in Beirut and to begin negotiations between Israel and the PLO.

Like speakers in Paris, Avnery has expressed concern that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon—with its desire to eliminate the PLO—could open the door for extremism and terrorism of many small and uncontrollable groups, making a political solution impossible. According to the president of AICIPP, Major General Matti Peled, this development might not displease the present government of Israel, which has declared its opposition to any political compromise with the PLO.

The AICIPP also regards the war in Lebanon as closely tied to the Israeli government's desire to annex the West Bank and Gaza. According to Mary Appleman of AICIPP, Begin is trying to "force the Palestinians in the West Bank to accept a 'Begin' form of autonomy. [The war] is an attempt to destroy Palestinian nationalism."

All of these organizations support continued U.S. military assistance to Israel. None has taken a position on the controversy over the cluster bombs.

—Nina Berman

MOROCCO

Congress balks at Reagan's support of Hassan's war

By Claudia Wright

WASHINGTON

AT THE VERY MOMENT THE Falklands war seemed to have demonstrated to the American military the need for American bases along the Atlantic coast from Morocco to Capetown, Congress has issued its first serious vote of no-confidence in King Hassan II, the monarch of Morocco, and in the Reagan administration's backing of the King's war in the Western Sahara.

That war was initiated by Moroccan annexation of the phosphate-rich territory originally colonized by Spain. The fighting has been going on for six years now, and Moroccan forces have been gradually pushed northward toward their internationally recognized border by the highly mobile forces of the Polisario Front, the movement of the indigenous Saharawi tribes. Their government-in-exile, established on recaptured Saharan territory at Hawsa, was admitted formally as a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) last March.

On April 29 in Washington, an overwhelming majority of the House subcommittee on Africa voted not to approve the administration's proposal to give Morocco \$100 million in loans for arms purchases in 1983, half of that at subsidized interest rates. Instead, it approved credits of only \$50 million and eliminated the interest-rate subsidy. A majority of the full Foreign Affairs Committee followed suit on May 11.

These votes have also added restrictions on the money for Morocco. One prohibits American military advisors from visiting or "perform(ing) official functions in the Western Sahara." A second bans "any training which has as its principal purpose improving the ability of the Moroccan armed forces to carry out offensive counterinsurgency military activities in the Western Sahara." Even the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which favored giving Morocco the full administration request, cited the Heritage Foundation as authority for the warning to the White House and to King Hassan that "continued U.S. assistance...should be consistent with Morocco's pursuit of a negotiated, rather than a military, solution to the conflict in the Western Sahara."

There are roughly 130 Americans now in Morocco on military contracts of various types, some of them in the battle zone of the Western Sahara itself, where they have been seen wearing Moroccan army uniforms. After allowing the Pentagon to send American advisors to Morocco last year, Congress is more hostile this year—though the final outcome of the Committee proposals awaits votes by both the House and the Senate and possible conference compromises.

Whatever Congress finally decides, it will be difficult to put a stop to the administration's active support of Morocco's war machine in the Sahara, and almost impossible to enforce a ban on "counterinsurgency" uses of American equipment. Even as the House Subcommittee was deliberating the language of its prohibition, the administration filed a formal notice of its decision to permit the export of 18 AB206 and two AB212 helicopters, manufactured by Bell Textron and designed for counterinsurgency and close air support of ground forces. This was followed not long after by a let-

ter offering the Moroccan airforce 381 Maverick air-to-ground missiles, to be used by Moroccan aircraft to hit Polisario vehicles and artillery. Neither sale was opposed by the Congress.

The current situation in the Congress is not without irony. King Hassan's strongest advocates in the administration and on the Hill have also been strongly committed to American military intervention in Central America and to siding with Argentina in the Falklands dispute. The congressional opponents of Hassan's war in the Sahara, on the other hand, are simultaneously the most ar-

dent supporters of U.S. military assistance to Israel, and of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

U.S. base rights in Morocco.

Last February's announcement, during a visit to Marrakesh by then-Sec. of State Alexander Haig, of a new U.S.-Moroccan military commission, and the opening of negotiations for American use of Moroccan bases merely formalized a relationship that stretches back to World War II, and that was marked in the Reagan administration's first year by frequent visits to Morocco by American military, intelligence and diplomatic officials. According to some of these men, and to recently declassified official memoranda, the U.S. has held on to rights of emergency transit, staging and refueling at the Moroccan bases that were formally evacuated by 1963—Kenitra (Port Lyautey), Benguerir, Nouaceur, Sidi Slimane and Ben Slimane. Two American telecommunications centers near the Moroccan capital, Rabat, were not evacuated with the others, but operate under the pretext of civilian functions, while linking American fleets in the Atlantic and Mediterranean.

Even during the Carter administration, when the White House and State Department were reluctant to indulge King Hassan's desire for fresh armament for the Saharan war, the King was personally too useful (for example, he helped facilitate the early stages of the Israel-Egyptian rapprochement) and Morocco was too valuable (it participated in the Zaire interventions of 1977 and 1978 to rescue President Mobutu Sese Seko) for outright rejection of Hassan's entreaties.

Accordingly, although the White House resisted approving significant new arms assistance until late in 1979, it allowed the King secretly to buy American-made artillery from stocks shipped to the Shah of Iran. As French arms credits began to diminish, the Carter administration also encouraged Hassan to buy tanks from Britain and to obtain finance from Saudi Arabia. But during the Carter period, the U.S. did not supply tanks for fear of aggravating Moroccan-Algerian tensions and did not recognize the King's annexation of the Western Sahara.

But the Reagan administration has officially endorsed Moroccan territorial claims, supported the war effort and rejected contacts with the Polisario Front in the same language the King uses. He claims it is not an indigenous Saharawi movement, but is composed of Algerian, Libyan and "non-African" mercenaries. Claims made by State Department and Pentagon officials about SAM-6 missile attacks inside Moroccan territory have been made and then admitted to have been mistaken. Allegations about Libyan, Cuban and Soviet involvement in arming the Saharawis are the basis for the administration's public support of Hassan in the Western Sahara.

In private, the American motives have less to do with the Sahara and more with the larger strategical game the administration is seeking to play. The U.S. Navy, for example, has been anxious to stretch operations into the South Atlantic well below the southernmost limit of the NATO area. The Navy plan is to expand facilities already in use in the Portuguese Azores (Lajes), and to use a new NATO naval base to be built at Porto Santo, in the Portuguese Madeira islands, due west of the Moroccan coast.

These are to be linked with the Kenitra base and naval air station, with French facilities in Senegal and Gabon, and to the South African naval bases at Walvis Bay (Namibia) and Simonstown (near Capetown, South Africa). The British island of Ascension, 3,000 kilometers west of the Angolan coast, provides (on lease to the U.S.) an airfield for anti-submarine warfare and a satellite communication center for ocean surveillance. These facilities have been used extensively in the Falklands war.

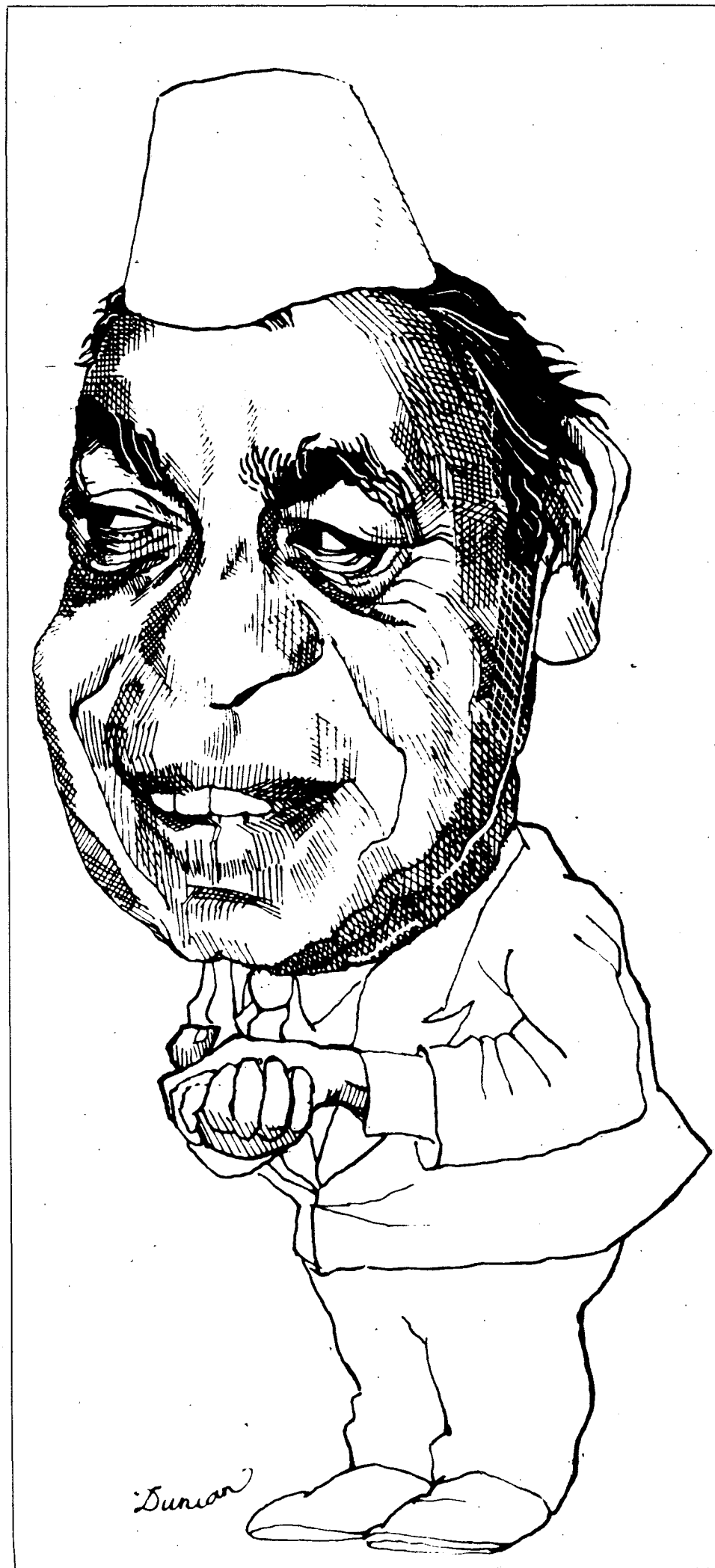
Secret pact of May 27.

King Hassan came to Washington between May 18 and 21, rode horses with President Reagan, ate dinner with former President Nixon at his New Jersey estate, and achieved both more and less than the stage-managed appearances suggested.

According to American officials, the King left with a commitment from the administration to provide \$200 million in new development and economic assistance over five years, starting next year. This figure looks like a big jump from the \$13.5 million proposed in the administration's 1983 budget for non-military aid. But at least half the promised money is not new at all—it will come from Moroccan repayments on past debts to the U.S.—and only a fraction of the rest represents a genuine increase over recent U.S. aid to Morocco.

About \$100 million would come from Moroccan funds already obligated for repayment to the U.S. for past grain sales. The second \$100 million are likely to be made up of five annual payments of \$10 million in emergency food assistance—a 30 percent reduction on the 1983 amount. There will be \$20 million for development projects—up from Reagan's

Continued on page 22



GUATEMALA



New crackdown on Indians

By John Dinges

SANTA CRUZ DEL QUICHE, GUATEMALA

THE WAR FOR THE MOST important country in Central America first becomes visible a few miles north of Lake Atitlan, a former tourist paradise on the road to this city in Quiche province.

Farm houses gutted by fire are the first landmarks. Then at a bend in the road, travelers find themselves driving straight toward the sandbags and guns of an army bunker, the guard outpost of a small detachment of troops dug in on a strategically placed bluff. In Chichicastenango, hardly a gringo is to be seen at the famous market of Indian weavings that a year ago bustled with customers from the up to 40 tourist buses and hundreds of cars that arrived on an average Sunday market day.

There had been some kind of guerrilla struggle in Guatemala long before fighting began in neighboring El Salvador, even before the resurgence of the Sandinista movement in Nicaragua in the mid-'60s. The long, smoldering conflict here has received little of the attention focused on the revolutionary movements elsewhere, but more is at stake: a population larger than El Salvador and Nicaragua combined, the largest area in the region, potentially vast oil wealth and a strategic location on Mexico's sparsely populated southern border. Only eight months ago, trees and the guerrilla forces stood tall here—and the army was virtually absent, moving around the province only in large units, attacking villages long after the guerrillas had come and gone.

Now, from events since the first of the year and observations in Quiche and in Huehuetenango, another northern province of heavy guerrilla activity, it is clear that Guatemala's ruling military is mounting an all-out drive intended to wipe out the insurgency in as little as six months.

The political and military program was described by one government official as a "last chance" for the conservative Guatemalan establishment of business and military leaders to put its house in order and remain in control in the face of the guerrilla challenge and the government's international pariah status because of charges of human rights violations.

The emerging program—which has attracted wide consensus in ruling circles without apparently being a pre-conceived plan—centers on the figure of the president of four months, retired General Efraín Ríos Montt. It includes:

- Consolidation of control of the government and the army by Ríos Montt, based on a populist platform of ending corruption in government, economic recovery and putting maximum effort into

the anti-guerrilla campaign.

- Continuation of aggressive search-and-destroy military tactics begun a year ago under General Benedicto Lucas García, the brother of then-President Romero Lucas García.

- A so-called "guns and beans" strategy in the countryside, combining the organization of civil defense units in villages, job-creating road building projects and food distribution with increasingly brutal reprisal attacks on Indian civilians in suspected pro-guerrilla towns.

- A crackdown on political parties and the press after a two-month springtime of apparent political liberalization.

The Ríos Montt program has produced a bewildering dual atmosphere in Guatemala. In the cities, the terror tactics of government death squads appear to have ended, and opposition politicians say they no longer live in fear of death despite their lack of civil rights guarantees. In the vast "interiors"—the term Guatemalans use for the rural areas—the population is predominantly Indian, and the political respite enjoyed by the mostly non-Indian city dwellers was barely palpable after Ríos Montt took power.

Instead, the government's new programs and military tactics appear to have given a new wrinkle to the use of army terror to discourage peasant support of the guerrilla movement, according to residents of Quiche and Huehuetenango towns.

"Things are about the same [as they were under Lucas García]," said a foreigner who traveled frequently between Solola and Quiche provinces. "Maybe they're even getting worse. They [the army] are wiping out one village after another."

He said in mid-June an Indian man told him he had gone with an army patrol to the town of Chiché, just north of Santa Cruz Del Quiche. The man, who is a member of a civil defense unit, said the soldiers killed several hundred villagers then gathered the orphaned children into a house and set it on fire.

The foreigner said several Indian villages, including one of 3,000 people near the Los Encuentros crossroads on the road to Santa Cruz, had been abandoned by their inhabitants after army raids and that he had seen five macheted bodies in one village.

In interviews with seven churchworkers in Quiche and Huehuetenango villages, a pattern emerged of army raids on villages since Ríos Montt came to power and of continued indiscriminate killing of men, women and children as apparent punishment for suspected collaboration with guerrillas.

The sources said, however, that there have also been reports of increased violence by the guerrillas, including executions of suspected government informers and some cases of threats and killings of villagers who refused to join the guerrillas or par-

ticipate in food distribution programs.

"But don't get me wrong," said a source who lives in Huehuetenango, "whatever wrong the guerrillas do is multiplied many times by the army." He and others said the army has killed at least 15 people for every one killed by the guerrillas, and that they knew of no cases of villagers accusing the guerrillas of killing women and children.

Two sources with a wide range of contacts in the areas of fighting said they estimated between 2,000 and 5,000 people had been killed by the army since the March coup—about the same rate of killing as under Lucas García.

The perplexing thing about the reports of continued brutality is that they contradict the fervent denials by Ríos Montt that such violations have continued since he took office—promising in the new government's statement of purpose to guarantee human rights. The reports and others circulating in diplomatic circles also appear to have blocked for the moment the Reagan administration's plans to re-open U.S. military aid channels to the Guatemalan army on the grounds that Ríos Montt was a radical departure from the dismal record of corruption and rights violations of the previous governments.

Ríos Montt, a moderate presidential candidate in the fraud-riddled 1974 elections won by the government-designated candidate, has in four months shown himself an adept powerbroker with considerable popular appeal. At first considered a weak "figurehead" when he was made head of a three-man junta by young officers who ousted Lucas García March 23, rumors of impending coups against him flew during April and May. Instead, Ríos Montt orchestrated a neat palace coup of his own, forcing out junta members General Horacio Maldonado Schaad—who was considered a link to the extreme rightist military elements around former president Lucas García—and Colonel Francisco Luis Gordillo—thought to represent the young officers in favor of more populist programs.

In an interview in Guatemala City, Ríos Montt portrayed his government as one of reconciliation and "credibility" in contrast to the corruption and death-squad activity of Lucas García. The conversation took place a few days after Ríos Montt suspended on July 1 the human rights guarantee of his statement of purpose and imposed a state of siege that includes restrictions on civil and political rights as draconian as in any Latin American dictatorship.

He portrayed the fight between the government and the insurgents as primarily between non-Indians (called Ladinos) and Indians.

"We have been living with our backs to the six million (Indians) in Guatemala. We are about one million who have an

education and interesting standard of living. So now we need to integrate these people. The subversion has its roots in the indifference that all our governments have shown toward the people...we have to create a national unity within our diversity. We have to make them feel secure in being Indians."

"Security" is a key word in Ríos Montt's plans for the Indians and his usage of it is similar to the concepts of "protected hamlets" during the Vietnam war. He sternly rejected as "lies" the idea that agrarian reform or legalization of Indian land titles might be needed in Guatemala.

His program has three prongs: organization of civil defense units village by village to act as a first battle line against guerrillas; alleviation of increasingly critical food shortages in battle areas by putting Indians to work "with pick, shovel and wheelbarrow" on road building projects in exchange for food parcels and a small salary; and encouraging a close relationship with local army units through rallies and civic action programs organized by the army.

The state-of-siege law provided for on-the-spot trials of "subversives" by military officers acting as judges and who are empowered to order immediate executions. "If we encounter guerrillas fighting against us, and if they are killed they are just dead. And if we capture them and they don't repent, we shoot them. But it is a matter of legal, ethical procedures. It's not capricious."

He said he would like the U.S. to use its influence to open up international loan programs to Guatemala and wants Congress to lift its embargo on weapons sales and military aid. He said his army does not need U.S. advisors and has plenty of guns and ammunition (most of which was purchased from Israel). But he said he wants the U.S. to provide spare parts for the army's four "Huey" helicopters and to provide "sophisticated" equipment to use in the civil war. He said that, with or without U.S. aid, he would end the guerrilla insurgency by December—"maybe sooner."

A visit by car to the army base in Santa Cruz Del Quiche and a helicopter tour of northern villages showed part of the Ríos Montt program in action.

Mario Lopez, a bearded captain wearing an Israeli-made camouflage uniform and a Galil assault rifle, said the army had moved in force into the area and begun "to organize the villages" eight months ago. "Before we gave the guerrillas freedom of action here. Now we are the ones with freedom of action," he said.

He and base commander Colonel Rigoberto Meza said that all killings of civilians and village burnings were the work of guerrillas who wear army uniforms in order to discredit the government internationally.

The guerrillas came into the area seven or eight years ago, Meza said, and "made the Indians aware of the way in which they lived and said they could improve their lives. But the Indians don't have much interest in improving themselves; they just want to live in peace....The guerrillas took advantage of the scant intellectual preparation of the Indians and promised them houses and cars just like we have in the city.

"But recently the people have opened their eyes and realized that they have been deceived, that the guerrillas represent crime and death. Now they feel the army very close and see that the army can get them out of this situation."

"Our influence is not so much the guns but by offering them an opportunity to improve their condition."

Lopez took three reporters by helicopter to an advance firebase near the town of Chiul, where 60 men live entrenched in a hilltop camp in an area that a few months ago was barely disputed guerrilla territory. The establishment of the Santa Cruz base and the tactic of advance camps penetrating guerrillas areas was the plan initiated by General Benedicto Lucas and continued after both Lucas García brothers were deposed in

Continued on page 22

Shultz

Continued from page 3

will weigh in on the same side as Haig. As Nixon's Treasury Secretary, he presided over the flowering of detente and also struck up a lasting friendship with Germany's Schmidt. He is on record opposing the use of trade sanctions. And in one of his first personnel moves, he asked Haig's Secretary for Political Affairs, Lawrence Eagleburger, to stay on.

But Shultz's confirmation hearings provided only the faintest clue of how he might line up. Except on the Arab-Israeli issue, Shultz simply reiterated the broad outlines of the administration's policy. His own positions had to be deduced from what he did not say.

One reason the hearings revealed so little was that both the Democrats and the Republicans on the Foreign Relations Committee treated Shultz with kid gloves. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), who had previously blocked several State Department appointments, broke a mixed-metaphor record when he declared "I have no predisposition to paint you into a tight circle because you have ahead of you a full plate of variables."

There were two issues on which Shultz would have been open to an embarrassing attack. In 1975, the Ford administration sued Bechtel, when Shultz was its executive vice-president, for including language in its contracts with Saudi Arabia that honored the Arab boycott of firms that did business with Israel. The government case was settled out of court, but Bechtel, as Senators Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.) and Larry Pressler (R-S.D.) noted, has continued to be the voice of Saudi Arabia in American politics.

Pressler stated that during the AWACs-sale debate, Bechtel representatives in South Dakota, where Bechtel has a major project underway, pressured him through the state's governor to back the arms sale.

And Shultz admitted that Bechtel's Washington lobbyist had pushed for the sale. Bechtel has even produced a documentary for public distribution that attempts to boost Saudi Arabia's image.

But neither Pressler nor Sarbanes was willing to press Shultz on the issue. They raised it, and then simply let it drop.

An even more embarrassing issue was introduced by Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.). Bechtel, which builds nuclear power plants around the world, played an important role in trying to prevent the Ford administration from stopping West Germany's sale of plutonium and reprocessing equipment to Brazil in 1975. Cranston revealed a letter from a Bechtel official to the Brazilian government offering to sell the fuel if West Germany could not—actions that placed Bechtel squarely in opposition to the official U.S. attempt to halt nuclear proliferation.

When Shultz claimed that the Bechtel letter had been written by an "overenthusiastic middle-level official" who didn't represent the company's overall views, Cranston didn't even pursue the matter to the extent of asking whether the official was subsequently fired or disciplined.

There were several reasons why Shultz was treated so gently. He is widely respected in Washington as an effective administrator and as a man of integrity. When he was Treasury Secretary, he earned Nixon's ire by refusing to turn the Internal Revenue Service loose on Nixon's political enemies. He also has cultivated important bipartisan support. During his confirmation hearing, he was represented by Lloyd Cutler, a top Carter administration official.

But probably the most important reason for Shultz's treatment was the oft-expressed fear that American foreign policy was coming apart at the seams, and that the sooner Shultz was in office the better. As Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.) put it to Shultz, "You're here because we have a problem."

During the hearings, Shultz appeared

uncomfortable—and then only slightly—when he had to defend the Reagan administration's economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. Writing in *Business Week* in 1979, Shultz had argued that attempts to block the sale of oil field equipment to the Soviet Union were futile. "It is hard to see that these manipulations have had any impact on the nature and operation of Soviet society," he said. He added that the U.S. must "avoid actions that undermine the ability of U.S. corporations to be reliable suppliers."

Shultz was reminded of these statements by farmbelt Senators Charles Percy (R-Ill.), Edward Zorinsky (R-Neb.) and Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), who want the administration to approve a long-term grain deal with the Soviet Union. "As a general position," Shultz admitted, "I think the use of trade sanctions as an instrument of diplomacy is a bad idea. But I can readily conceive of situations where overriding concerns would force you to use them."

Shultz tied the administration's refusal to engage in long-term grain negotiations and its pipeline sanctions to the continuation of Polish martial law rather than to an overall strategy of "prevailing with pride" over an economically weakened Soviet Union. He also left the door open to short-term grain agreements.

The most striking parts of Shultz's testimony were his responses to questions about the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. While Sen. Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.) bravely called on Shultz to end America's subservience to Israeli policy, Paul Sarbanes, Chris Dodd (D-Conn.) and Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.) pressured Shultz to endorse Israel's war aims. Shultz not only insisted that the Palestinians "must be represented" in any new autonomy talks—a step beyond the current American position—he also nearly endorsed PLO participation in the talks.

Dodd: If the Palestinians should be permitted to participate directly in the talks, do you believe the PLO should be allowed to participate?

Shultz: The Palestinians should have their representatives—representatives they consider to be legitimate. Whether

that's the PLO I couldn't say.

Dodd: Assuming the Palestinians accept the PLO, should the precondition of PLO participation be the PLO accepting the right of Israel to exist.

Shultz: We should stick with the position we've taken. Of course, there is a sense that when you negotiate with them you recognize their existence (italics added).

Tough talk.

The Democrats in the Foreign Relations Committee tried unsuccessfully to drive a wedge between Shultz and the Reagan administration's policies. For instance, Dodd tried to take Shultz's statement that the main problem in Latin America is political and not military to imply that Shultz opposed current American policy in El Salvador. But Shultz replied, "For economic growth and progress, there has to be some stability. Therefore, the countering of guerrilla and counterinsurgency movements is an important thing to do."

In an exchange with Nancy Kassenbaum (R-Kan.), Shultz gave his implicit approval to the El Salvador government's land reform. "The land reform involving large estates is largely in place," Shultz said. "What's called phase two is almost universally agreed to have been a mistake."

Shultz also endorsed at several points the administration's rhetorical posture toward the Soviet Union and Cuba. Shultz brushed aside Sen. Claiborne Pell's (R-R.I.) pleas for "verbal disarmament." But little can be concluded from Shultz's willingness to denounce the Soviet Union or Cuba. The different factions in the Reagan administration were never distinguished by their degree of hostility to the Soviet Union or Cuba, but by their opinion on how and with whom that hostility must be expressed.

On these questions, Shultz's positions remain largely unknown. And until they are known, it will be difficult to predict what effect, if any, he will have on future American foreign policy. Certainly, based on the policy changes that have taken place the last two months, it is probably fair to say that almost any change would be for the better.

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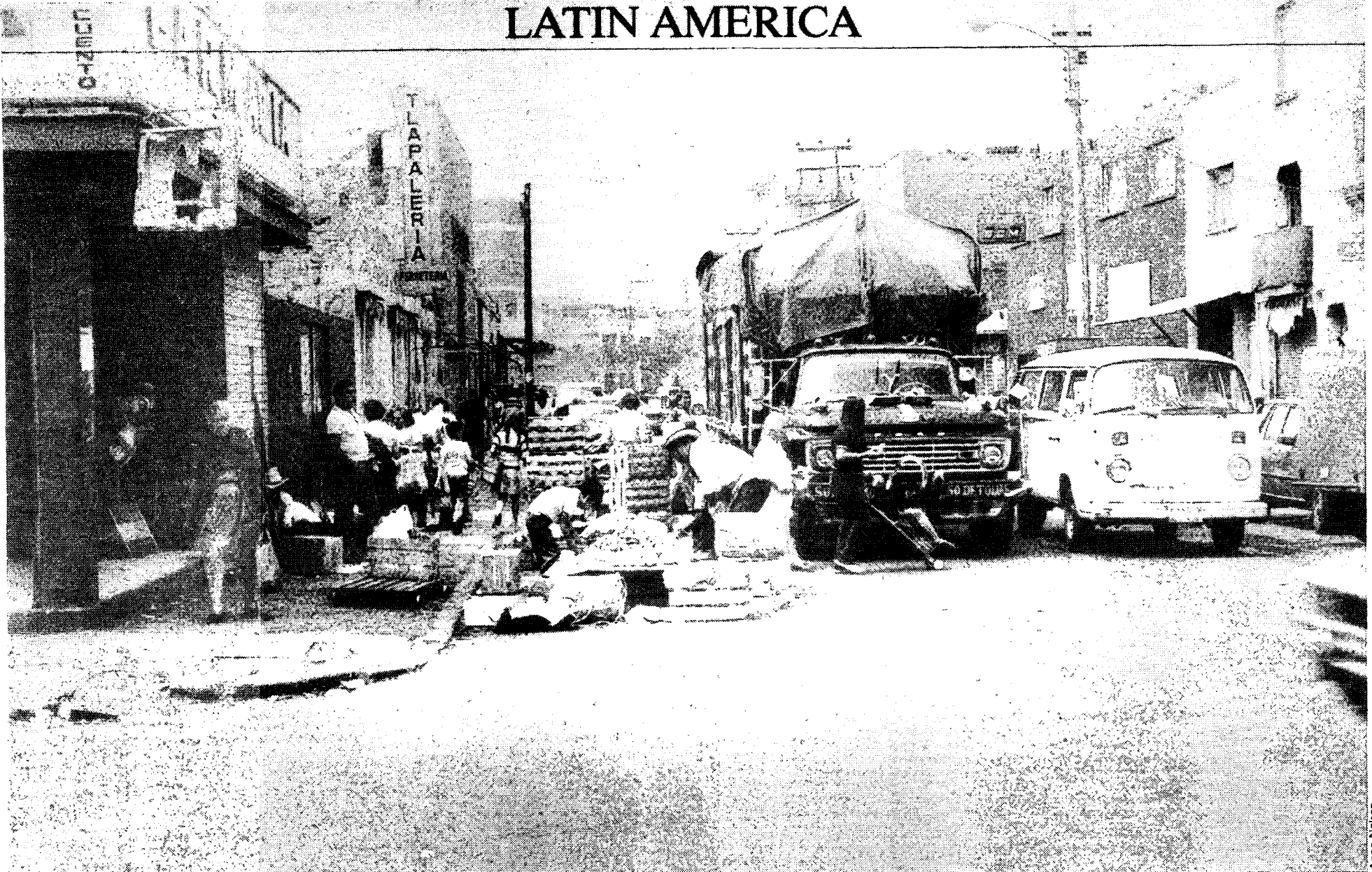
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LATIN AMERICA



New president Miguel de la Madrid will have to address the problem that Mexico's oil boom has not benefited most urban workers or the peasantry.

Anne Nelson

Populism, Mexican-style, wins the day

By Anne Nelson

MEXICO CITY

THE PILE OF CARDBOARD shacks laced together with chickenwire outside this city don't even have a name. But residents of this shantytown are called "paracaidistas" because they "parachute" straight into the slums from the countryside, hoping to pocket a share of the capital's fabled wealth.

For most of them, that share is limited to the mound of city garbage outside their front doors, and everyone from children and dogs to desperate heads of households scavenge through the pile in the course of the day. Their sium is considered an eyesore by the prosperous neighborhoods down the road.

But for months it has been hidden from view by an enormous white wall bearing the square-jawed resolute image of Miguel de la Madrid and the green and white of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). De la Madrid's landslide victory in the July 4 presidential elections came as no surprise to anyone in Mexico. "These people don't even know what politics are," complained 21-year-old foundry worker Sergio Gonzalez, surveying the slum. "They just vote for the PRI because it's going to win, whether they vote for it or not."

The PRI has dominated 20th-century political life in Mexico, winning every national election since 1929. In 1976, Jose Lopez Portillo ran for the presidency unopposed. But abstention surpassed 50 percent, reflecting a growing disillusionment with the one-party system and leading Lopez Portillo to institute a code of electoral reform.

This year de la Madrid, Lopez Portillo's hand-picked successor, faced opponents from six different parties, ranging from neo-fascists to the Revolutionary Workers' Party, an unlikely coalition of gays and Trotskyists led by dynamic human rights activist Rosario Ibarra, Mexico's first female presidential candidate. But none of the six parties represented a serious electoral challenge to the PRI, which spent more than \$200 million on its

campaign.

One of the secrets of the PRI's longevity has been its aggressive wooing of a popular base made up of peasants, labor and professionals. The labor wing of the party was disappointed with the selection of de la Madrid, a 47-year-old Harvard-educated management specialist, calling him a "technocrat" and predicting that he will favor the business community.

But all of de la Madrid's managerial skills will be needed to address the country's economic woes. Over the last few decades the Mexican economy has been transformed by a monumental oil boom, and recent finds indicate that the country could surpass Saudi Arabia as the world's premier petroleum producer. Past PRI administrations have borrowed heavily against future oil wealth, basing their planning on steadily increasing world prices. Instead, prices have dropped, leaving the country with rising expecta-

tions, falling revenues and a giant foreign debt. Inflation has surpassed 60 percent. And the Mexican peso underwent a 60 percent devaluation in February and another is expected in August.

"At \$64 billion the external public debt is the highest in Mexican history," commented Francisco Calderon, head of the Economic Studies Center in Mexico City. "How can you talk about economic nationalism in a situation like that? It's pure rhetoric."

Despite the vast increases in public spending, Mexico's embarrassment of riches has failed to trickle down to the urban slums or the depressed countryside. "The country has to give something to eat to everyone," commented Luis Forey, a police chief with 42 years in the service. "When is the government going to worry about the peasant working the land? It's not a lack of resources, it's a lack of shame."

Many Mexicans say the PRI's notorious corruption is to blame. Pay-offs and bribes are an accepted way of life, ranging from a few pesos to a traffic cop to millions that line the pockets of the highest officials. "Before the devaluation, a group of Lopez Portillo's associates all went out and bought dollars," stated Cruz Garcia, another Mexico City policeman. "How did they know in advance? This country is drowning in corruption."

Corruption touched the campaign itself with PRI pay-offs to the national press, gifts and junkets to foreign press and payments to peasants for attending rallies. De la Madrid promised to battle corruption in his campaign speeches, but observers expect him to follow the anti-corruption measures of Lopez Portillo by allowing a few highly publicized heads to roll yet leaving the system intact.

"There are tens of thousands of bur-

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MOZAMBIQUE

Workers' control for some factories

By James North

MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

IT WAS DIFFICULT TO PICK OUT THE boss among the five people seated around a table in the clothing factory's boardroom. Miguel Maujate, the older man who spoke with authority, was a possibility, but he was wearing a worker's brown dust coat.

The younger man across from him, Luis Siguise, was dressed in a safari suit, but he also referred to himself as *um operario*—a worker.

Another young safari-suited man was at times called *o director*, but he didn't act like one—no long monologues, no air of commanding expertise, no gestures of

impatience or superiority toward the others.

In fact, the 400 workers at the state-owned Soveste factory in Maputo's outskirts have no boss, at least not in the Western sense of the word. The director, 30-year-old Jose Plinio, is a soft-spoken accountant. Maujate, the older man, is secretary of the Frelimo party cell of 31 members, while Siguise heads the production council, an embryonic trade union. Also on hand to greet visitors recently were Maria Ananias, the secretary of the factory's chapter of the Organization of Mozambican Women, and Raimundo Chiboma, who heads another youth organization.

In theory, factories in Mozambique are explicitly not supposed to be run by prin-

ciples of workers' control. The director, usually a state appointee, is enjoined to consult with the worker and party organizations, but he or she retains the ultimate authority. Practice apparently varies from factory to factory and responds to shifting emphasis from higher levels in the state and party. At Soveste, at least, the distinction between management and worker is considerably blurred.

Out on the factory floor, the atmosphere seemed relaxed. The workers, more than half of them women, did not jump to attention as the fivesome guided visitors along the rows of sewing machines.

The factory was brightly colorful. Banners and Mozambican flags were draped from the ceiling and the walls: "Viva Production and Productivity" and "Viva Scientific Socialism." At one end, overlooking the floor, was an enormous cloth portrait of President Samora Machel.

Along one wall pink and blue charts indicated the daily quotas for each section and the actual production levels. Quotas for each factory are set by national planners in the various ministries. There has

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Mexico

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caucrats in this country," explained an officer at the agricultural credit bank fatalistically. "How are you going to wipe out corruption? You can't fire the whole government at once!"

Although Mexico City serves as world headquarters for "cafeteria revolutionaries," the PRI's best insurance is the lack of an organized opposition. The new parties have lacked the time to build a constituency or the money to buy one. Several were discredited when they seconded de la Madrid's nomination on their own tickets, and both the left and the right are badly divided.

The Mexican government's charity toward the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutionary movements decidedly does not begin at home. And there are sporadic reports of fighting with peasant-based guerrilla groups in the south toward the Guatemalan border. The 95,000-man Mexican army has been watching these developments with concern and has reportedly been pressuring the PRI for a stronger voice in government policy. Unless President-elect de la Madrid succeeds in taming the economy and quieting local unrest, the stability of Mexico's "PRI-ocracy" could be short-lived indeed. ■

Anne Nelson writes regularly for several national publications about Latin American affairs.

Africa

Continued from page 9

been criticism that individual factories and their workers have had too little say in setting the targets. So the government has promised to increase their participation in drawing up the plan. At Soveste, the quotas did not seem particularly onerous; quite a few sections had surpassed their targets by mid-afternoon and were off studying.

One of the large wall banners read: "To teach the working class to read is to advance the revolution." Director Plinio estimated three-quarters of the Soveste workers were involved in some type of formal studies. Classrooms containing predominately women are located just inside the factory entrance.

Another reason some of the sewing machines were idle, however, was due to

the lack of raw materials. In the pre-1975 colonial period, Mozambique experienced the same grossly distorted "development" as in most of the Third World. The colony grew a significant amount of cotton (sometimes by forced labor little short of slavery), which it was required to sell to textile factories in Portugal.

Toward the end of the colonial period, the authorities relaxed some of the anti-industrialization restrictions. The move was in part motivated by the desire to promote some economic development to stop Frelimo's advance in the armed struggle. Some clothing factories were built, which imported largely synthetic textiles from Portugal and elsewhere.

Frelimo thus inherited a preposterous paradox. The country exported cotton to produce cloth overseas, while importing synthetics to produce some of its own clothing. Now efforts are underway to try to integrate the production process, which would be a difficult restructuring even under favorable circumstances, but which is presently aggravated by the lack of foreign exchange.

The lack of funds is another obstacle to further industrial development. The industrial working class in Mozambique is relatively tiny, numbering only about 80,000 in a nation of 12 million. Frelimo does not call itself a party of the working class (which would be absurd given the make-up of the country), but rather the party of "the worker-peasant alliance."

Frelimo, like similar movements elsewhere, will continually find it difficult to maintain an alliance between two groups that do not always have identical interests. One potential source of conflict is wage differentials. At Soveste, workers start at about \$75 monthly, rising to \$130 for the highly skilled. (The cost of living is of course lower here than in America or in neighboring South Africa.) These wages, low as they are, still constitute many times the income of the majority of Mozambican peasants. In part, that difference explains why the state retains the major part of Soveste's "profits" to invest elsewhere.

The relatively low wage level is still an improvement over the colonial period. Maujate, the party secretary, remembered his five years as a migrant in South African gold mines, followed by spells at the port and in cigarette and clothing factories. He now earns at least 50 percent more, and his job is guaranteed.

Wages and job security are not the only reasons the representatives of the Soveste workers are staunch supporters of the Frelimo government. They have less tangible, but no less important, considera-

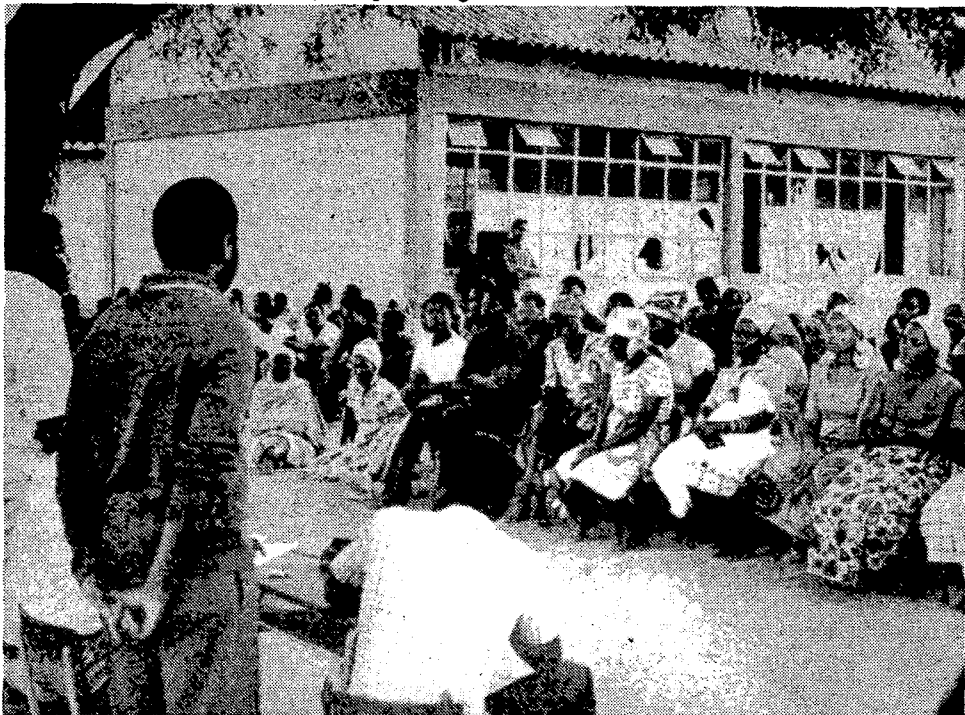
tions, and they look toward Luis Siguisse, the production council head, to explain these for them.

Siguisse, who is respected for his eloquence, spoke for a good five minutes without stopping, gesticulating animatedly the whole time. "In the colonial time, the workers knew nothing about profits or about the management of the factory. The colonial government had not the slightest concern about the state of the worker.... A worker couldn't enter a house, a proper cement house. We had to live in the *cidade canizo* (the sprawling

shantytowns of reeds and mud). The colonialists said the workers would make the cement houses dirty inside. We built the cement houses, but we couldn't live in them. Now for the first time in my life I live in a decent house—a cement house."

Siguisse concluded, "In the colonial time, the worker could not come into the boardroom. Now, I have no problems coming in here, sitting down and talking to the director whenever I feel like it."

He looked over at the director Plinio for confirmation, and Plinio smiled and nodded. ■



People attend a neighborhood meeting in Maputo, an area where poor Mozambicans lived during colonial rule.

The right wing changes tactics

Nearly two years ago, a shopkeeper in the south-central Mozambican province of Inhambane succinctly described how the right-wing Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM) was operating further to the north. "They stop a bus," he said. "They order everyone outside. Then they shoot them."

Back then, the MRM was a purely terrorist organization, the joint creation of Ian Smith's intelligence service and some Mozambican dissidents that were supplied and funded from Rhodesia. South Africa stepped in after Smith's minority regime was swept away in 1980. The MRM's sole objective was to destabilize the Frelimo government in

the interests of Rhodesia and South Africa, and it employed terror and brutality unsparingly.

Over the past year or so, the MRM has started to change its tactics. It still has no real political program or potential alternative government. But it has apparently started to be more selective in its attacks. It still murders anyone connected on any level with the party or state apparatus, but it now leaves "the innocent" alone. The MRM is also said to be distributing food and other scarce commodities, supplied from South Africa, in a bid to win at least some support in the poor rural areas.

Whether due to the new tactics or not, it is clear that the MRM has expanded its zone of operations recently from its original base in two central provinces. Attacks have taken place in previously peaceful areas, and the movement has said it plans to strike into the cities as well. In early June, an alarmed President Machel postponed a visit to Europe in order to oversee the anti-MRM fight.

The revolutionary government is in no danger of falling. It likens its opponents to the anti-Castro forces based in Florida who staged commando raids into Cuba through much of the '60s. Frelimo argues it cannot be expected to quickly destroy a force backed and supplied by South African might.

Nonetheless, the persistence of the MRM is both a sign of Mozambique's economic weakness and a further weakening factor. The prolonged austerity is a vulnerable point that can be exploited by rightists with their South African goods. At the same time, the MRM raids interrupt the fragile transportation network, stymieing the efforts at reconstruction and development.

Mozambique had other dismaying news lately, as three high-ranking government officials defected in separate incidents. Two of the cases seemed to be straightforward instances of embezzlement and theft. The third, much more serious, is that of Jorge Costa, the former director of security, who has gone over to the South Africans.

Costa, a 30-year-old white Mozambican, was either the second- or third-ranking official in the Ministry of Security, and thus privy to many secrets. An angry President Machel announced Costa's defection immediately and warned Mozambicans to expect South African raids guided by the defector's revelations.

—James North

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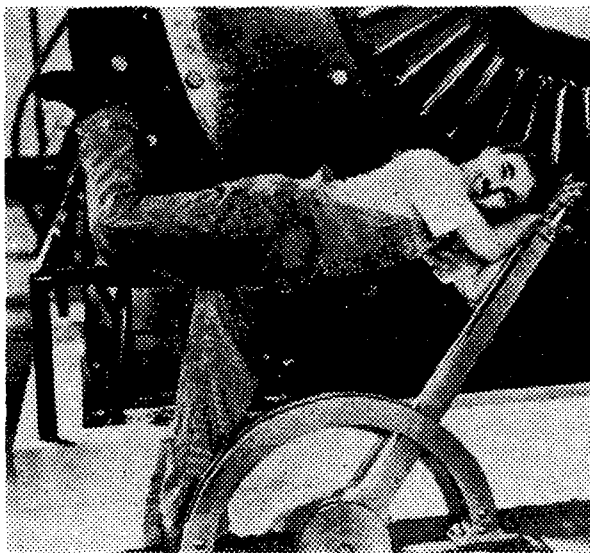
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PLO

Palestinians seek "mutual recognition"

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION Organization (PLO) is ready to meet with "any Israeli who accepts the platform of mutual recognition" to discuss ways to end this "cruel, unjust war of mutual destruction and annihilation," PLO spokesman Issam Sartawi said in an important policy declaration in Paris on July 13.

In a combined lecture and press conference sponsored by the main line French Institute for International Relations (IFRI), Sartawi stressed that the PLO in recent years has "matured," become more pragmatic and realistic and has officially shown its recognition of Israel's right to exist. But the Begin government does not want PLO recognition, he claimed.

Sartawi, a physician by profession and close policy advisor of PLO chairman Yasir Arafat, has played a leading role in developing contacts with Israelis and European Jews who are anxious for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. One of the objectives of the invasion of Lebanon launched June 6 by Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon was to "kill the seeds of peace in the Middle East," Sartawi said. But this had failed, as shown by the "beautiful, meaningful act" of Israeli peace advocate Uri Avnery, who went to talk to PLO chairman Arafat in besieged Beirut on July 3.

By receiving Avnery in Beirut for the first time, Arafat gave top-level endorsement to eight years of more or less discreet contacts between the PLO and Israelis.

At the same time in Paris, France's most highly respected elder statesman, former Prime Minister Pierre Mendes-France, broke his long silence on the Middle East conflict and issued a joint appeal for mutual Israeli-PLO recognition along with former U.S. Sec. of Commerce Philip Klutznick and octogenarian Nahum Goldmann, whose diplomatic activity as head of the World Zionist Organization is credited with the 1947 United Nations vote to establish the State of Israel.

Sartawi's IFRI lecture was originally scheduled for June 14 and was intended to be the culmination of six months worth of efforts, including "secret formal discussions" with several West European governments and "indirect discussions" with the U.S. government through Tunisian president Habib Bourguiba leading up to a "clear statement" of the PLO position on certain "vital issues": That is, recognition of Israel's right to exist.

But the outbreak of the war made this impossible, since it would have made a position carefully worked out over six months of negotiation look like a "form of capitulation." Sartawi claimed, however, that the "glorious resistance of Palestinian boys" in battle against the "Israeli super army" had put the PLO in such a position of strength—especially moral strength—that it could now call for peace and mutual recognition.

The PLO knew as far back as late 1980 that Begin was planning to invade Lebanon and destroy the PLO, according to Sartawi. This was confirmed in July 1981 by a series of attacks on Lebanon "culminating in the massive raid on West Beirut which led to nearly a thousand dead and injured." Then this was followed by a cease-fire agreement, but the PLO knew further war plans were being prepared and took steps to counter them, he said.

The first was the Aug. 22, 1981, announcement of the Fahd Plan for a Middle East settlement, sponsored by Saudi Arabia with strong encouragement from

European and other governments. "The Fahd Plan was supposed to be a serious counter-measure to the impending invasion of Lebanon," Sartawi said, indirectly confirming that "a very high-ranking Palestinian personality" participated in drafting its provisions. This threw the Begin government into a "panic," he said. A bi-partisan Israeli commission was dispatched to the U.S. to counter the Fahd Plan. But luckily for Begin, Arab disunity wrecked the Fez summit called to endorse the Fahd Plan.

This "indirect victory by proxy at

Sartawi said a main battlefield in the secret Israeli-Palestinian war was the "recognition front," with the PLO attempting to gain diplomatic recognition, especially in the West, and the Israelis doing all they could to prevent it. The PLO's first breakthrough came in July 1979 when Austrian premier Bruno Kreisky invited Chairman Arafat to Vienna for a series of meetings in which Socialist International chairman Willy Brandt participated. Austria thereupon extended formal recognition to the PLO. "From there on," said Sartawi, "we

Uri Avnery (right) at a press conference in Paris with Maxime Rodinson, well-known French historian and Arab-world specialist



Fez" enabled the Begin government to move ahead with plans to "trap the PLO into breaking the cease-fire agreement." The first approach was massive bombing raids on Lebanon, first on April 21 and then again on May 9. In the first case, due to the "statesmanship of the Palestinian leadership, particularly chairman Arafat," the PLO did not respond. The second time, it gave only a token measured response designed not to leave any damage.

A series of pretexts.

Sartawi said the Israeli leadership probably foresaw that the PLO would not fall for this ploy to gain a pretext for invasion, because in February the Begin government set another trap when it "unilaterally decided to interpret the cease-fire agreement as applying to any act of terror committed anywhere in the world against any Jewish or Israeli establishment."

The PLO protested. But this interpretation was soon endorsed by the U.S. government. This "ominous" development showed that the interpretation was "not just an academic exercise, it was an operational device." The PLO "precisely diagnosed how the Israelis were going to produce the pretext for the invasion of Lebanon," Sartawi said. "Therefore it was no accident when around February 22, I issued a series of declarations pointing to the dangers which the Abu Nidal group represented to the Arab world and warning that this group according to our estimates and intelligence data is cooperating with the Mossad, the Israeli secret service."

On June 4, the Abu Nidal group made an attempt on the life of the Israeli ambassador to London, Shlomo Argov. This was the pretext used by the Israeli government to invade Lebanon to "wipe out the terrorist threat."

The PLO knew as far back as late 1980 that Begin was planning to invade Lebanon and destroy the PLO.

were hoping to make headway, and indeed it's no accident that Austria became a major target for violence. This same Abu Nidal group which we diagnosed as infiltrated by Mossad decided to pick Austria out of all the countries in the world for its nefarious attention."

Austria was the site of a series of anti-semitic murders and crimes perpetrated by the Abu Nidal group, which had also plotted to assassinate Arafat in Vienna on June 8, 1981. All this was intended to prove that "recognizing the PLO brings about punishment to the government and to the people."

Sartawi spent much of his lecture refuting Israeli claims that the PLO charter calls for the destruction of Israel. The articles of the original charter—which are interpreted as calling for the destruction of Israel—claimed that Palestine, in

its boundaries under British mandate, could not be partitioned, and that only Jews who had come to Palestine "before the Zionist invasion" should be allowed to stay.

These articles have been rendered null and void, Sartawi argued, by subsequent resolutions by the PLO's highest authority—its 301-member parliament, the Palestine National Council (PNC). For instance, the 1969 and 1970 PNC sessions approved the project of a "secular democratic state" for Palestine that, by eliminating religious distinctions, invalidated previous discriminatory statements against Jewish immigrants.

Finally, the partition of Palestine, and thus the existence of Israel on part of it, was admitted by the 1977 PNC resolution defining the Palestinian national objective as the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state on part of Palestine, either "liberated" or from which Israeli troops withdraw. And back in 1974, the PNC amended the controversial article, saying, "Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine" by saying instead that "all means" starting with armed struggle would be used.

Back in 1975, then-Sec. of State Henry Kissinger made a commitment to Israel—accepted by subsequent administrations as a formally binding treaty—that the U.S. government would not recognize the PLO or have contacts with the PLO until the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist. The attitude of the Palestinian people, said Sartawi, was to refuse to bow to "blackmail" in the case of an "asymmetrical" commitment that does not call on Israel to recognize the right of the Palestinians to exist.

But the PLO was "committed to peace, and aware of the good intentions of our friends in Europe, who also raise the question of recognition, not as an effort to embarrass us, but as a translation of practical reality." He said that "we are aware that peace is made between enemies, that in order to make peace with my enemy, I have to recognize his existence." Thus in April 1981, the Palestinian National Council passed an "historic resolution" endorsing the Brezhnev statement to his Soviet party congress on the Middle East, which specifically mentioned the need to "ensure the security and sovereignty of all the states of the region, including Israel."

Stressing that he was speaking with full PLO authority, Sartawi then read a prepared statement that concluded:

"From this it follows that the PLO has formally conceded to Israel in the most unequivocal manner the right to exist on a reciprocal basis. This eliminates automatically the obstacle placed by Henry Kissinger in the way of U.S.-PLO dialogue. I therefore call on the government of the U.S. to extend to the PLO formal recognition and to establish contacts with it."

Commenting on the peace movement in Israel, the PLO leader said he thought that even though the peace forces were small, the feeling for peace was great, because "people do not want to die to fulfill the grandiose schemes of the Sharons of this world." It is obvious, he claimed, that Begin and Sharon aim at "the balkanization of the Arab world and progress all the way to the Gulf oil fields."

Thus, he said, the Israeli people have two choices: "Either a greater Israel, extending from the Mediterranean to the Gulf, as your current leaders are dreaming—but then you have to bear in mind that those who live by the sword die by the sword. Or else an Israel within the 1967 borders, living in peace with its neighbors—accepted, integrated in the Middle East. You people of Israel have the historical opportunity to survive now through our will and acceptance. Do not reject this offer."

The New Homesteaders



PHILADELPHIA
NEREIDA RIVAS, A young Puerto Rican woman with two children, made a bold move last summer. She had been here for about a year, living in dilapidated, overpriced apartments with surly landlords. When she left the last one a year ago, she moved her family into a broken down, trash-filled vacant row-house in the Kensington area of the city.

Over the next few months, with her brother's help, Rivas reinforced the walls with sheet-rock, installed a shower, stove, drop ceiling and new windows and toilets. The place was transformed from what one neighbor called a "horrible wreck" into a habitable home.

"If they come now and take the house away, I don't know what I'll do," she said recently. "I want to make something, do something better for my children."

But as the cold winds of December blew in, Rivas found that her improvements only meant that it was more likely that a private realtor could eventually buy the house by outbidding her at a city auction. In that case, she would have to leave or pay rent to the new owner.

Nereida Rivas is a squatter—one of about 1,000 people who have joined community groups in Philadelphia in what has become a major movement to reclaim abandoned houses by simply moving poor families into them. The battle between grass-

roots organizations and city housing officials over the deeds to squatter's properties recently led to innovative legislation here. It gives squatters unprecedented legal standing and also threatens the free reign of private realtors over the marginal housing market in the city.

In many working-class neighborhoods in Philadelphia, abandoned houses line the streets like rows of decaying teeth. It is a common sight throughout urban America, and the cause is closely tied to runaway shops and "white flight." In the decades since World War II, factories steadily closed in innercity areas and moved out, taking valuable jobs along. So many stable working-class families followed the jobs or moved to the suburbs, and their old homes in the cities bloated the real estate markets there.

In some cases, speculators stepped in and bought the houses for next to nothing and turned around and rented them out for as much as possible. Little maintenance was done and many became tax-delinquent. When no one would rent or the tax man was at the door, the houses were simply abandoned—scavengers stripped out anything sellable and vandals destroyed the rest.

The process in Philadelphia has left a perplexing irony: Thousands of vacant house shells stand menacing neighborhoods while there is a shortage of affordable housing.

"The housing problem is so big that people are not worried anymore about following the

law," said Ralph Acosta, an organizer with the Kensington Joint Action Council (KJAC). "[They think] 'here I am in America, without a house and no money to buy one, and I see abandoned houses.'"

Many other people saw the same thing, and sporadic squatting began in Philadelphia in the mid-'70s. Led by maverick black political leaders, squatters usually occupied HUD repossessed homes. The tense reaction of neighbors, who often weren't consulted, and the hostile response of authorities made it necessary for these modern homesteaders to circle up the wagons.

"Some of us were squatting people years ago," remembers City Councilman John Street, "and back then the cops were pulling people out of the houses. I used to tell people, 'If you squat, you better bring a book and an apple, 'cause you're going to end up at 8th and Race (the police station).'"

After helping 40 to 50 families find abandoned homes, the movement died down. The city successfully evicted some squatters and made deals with others.

"Politically, it fizzled because of limited objectives," said Mike DiBerardinis, an organizer for KJAC, a neighborhood organization working on a variety of local problems. Kensington is a racially mixed row-house neighborhood, and it became one of the main battlegrounds when squatting began to move again in 1978. KJAC, along with the Puerto Rican Alliance and Padres Unidos then settled 125 squatters.

This time, organizers tried to expand the scope. Rather than just serving a handful of needy families, squatting became part of a conscious strategy to blow wide open the city housing programs.

"We moved into the whole question of abandonment, going beyond squatting as a singular demand: 'Here are these houses, give them to the people who need them.' We expanded so that we were looking at the acquisition and distribution of abandoned houses in the city," DiBerardinis said.

And in a city with an estimated 25,000 abandoned houses, it's a big issue.

Challenging the city.

In early 1980, KJAC and the newly formed Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) challenged the city to take vacant houses away from tax-delinquent slumlords. "Most of the abandoned houses you see around here are owned by real estate people, not individuals," DiBerardinis said. "They're a menace to the neighborhood—they don't pay their taxes on their properties, and everybody knows what those vacant houses do to a neighborhood."

The ready focus for the groups' demands was the city's Gift Property Program, which at least in theory is supposed to find abandoned houses with tax-delinquent landlords and give them to families who are willing to fix the houses up in return for a place to live. The program was nominally administered by the city's Office of Housing and Community Development (OHCD), the agency responsible for spending the city's federal block grants. But following the best traditions of Philadelphia machine politics, the real control was in the hands of City Councilman and power broker Harry Jannotti. Organizers claim he used the program largely as a patronage tool to deepen his political base. (Jannotti was later convicted in the Abscam sting operation.)

The squatting movement intensified as a series of political actions were put in motion—demonstrations, lobbying and press conferences. This steady pressure led to negotiations between community groups and city officials over the Gift Property Program. An agreement was struck with City Managing Director Wilson Goode in the winter of 1980. In return for a moratorium on squatting, the city promised to make the Gift Property Program an effective process for turning over abandoned houses. Within months, Goode promised, the program would be producing about 200 houses a month.

"Goode said to us at one point that he'd be on our side of the table if the program wasn't moving by the summer (of 1981)," said KJAC organizer David Tatgenhorst.

OHCD was reorganized, months passed, the summer came, but little had changed—and nobody switched sides of the table. OHCD officials pleaded for

By

more time, saying that acquiring vacant houses was a long, cumbersome legal process because the laws protect property holders. And they were short-staffed and underfunded, they argued.

But for the community groups a reality remained. Few houses were being produced. So they returned to squatting late last summer.

Nereida Rivas' family was one of about 200 that ripped the sheetmetal off sealed up houses and moved in over the next couple of months. "We don't think squatting is any solution to the housing problem," said Tatgenhorst at the time. "We do it out of desperation to get the city moving on an effective housing program."

Soon more and more neighborhood groups were picking up squatting as a tactic. Many families moved into vacant houses on their own.

Clearly, the city could no longer ignore the squatters. OHCD quietly secured the deeds for a few squatters, like Nereida Rivas, and housing officials at least acknowledged their responsibility for the Gift Property Program and came to community meetings regularly to explain their sides of the story.

Such meetings were often the scene of sizzling confrontations that exposed the program's failures. At a meeting with Puerto Rican residents in April, one man angrily told the director of the program that he had moved into a house almost a year ago, began making repairs and then applied for the house.

"I never even got a response," he shouted in Spanish. "You think it's easy to squat in a house? What do you think it was like for me to move my pregnant wife into that house when there was no hot water? Do you think I'd do that if I wasn't really in need? You people in your plush carpeted offices can't understand our suffering."

Clay Cohen, then the director of the program, rose to respond. "When someone like you decides to squat, he's taking a chance," he said. "He doesn't know, number one, if the city can get the house

at all; and, number two, he may be first on the list of applicants for the property, or he may be the fifth." (The time lag can be so great that sometimes several people might apply for the same house.)

Backed into a corner.

But community activists had been pushing sympathetic city council members for months on legislation that could solve some of the problems. And the result was a precedent-setting city ordinance that actually gives legal status to families who occupy abandoned houses. Backed into a political corner by the failure of the city's housing programs and growing public pressure, even the city administration supported the measure. It passed in June virtually without opposition.

ACORN camps out at White House

More than 250 housing activists from around the country came to Washington, D.C., June 23, 24 and 25 to protest and lobby against President Reagan's housing policies. The protest called by the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) dramatized the housing needs of poor people by erecting a "tent city" on the Ellipse a few hundred yards from the White House.

The group is asking the Reagan administration to establish a national homesteading program, one modeled after programs in other cities where abandoned and vacant homes are taken over

by the city and given to low-income people who promise to fix them up.

"We wanted to talk about the whole of housing as it relates to poor and middle-income people," said Grover Wright, chairman of the Pennsylvania ACORN chapter. Right now, he explained, the country has a severe housing crisis that is getting worse because of a high rate of foreclosures brought on by the depressed economy.

One of ACORN's answers to the housing problem is squatting. In more than 15 cities, low-income families have claimed more than 250 abandoned homes. Many of those homes were owned by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which takes a dim view of squatting. According to

Under the terms of the statute, a person can move into any house that has been declared a public nuisance (abandoned and tax-delinquent) and enter into an "improvement contract" with the city. The new occupant must begin making repairs to bring the building up to housing code, and the city agrees to try and obtain the property through its usual methods of confiscating tax-delinquent houses.

If the city is unable to procure the house, or if a private realtor outbids the city at the auction of delinquent properties, the city agrees to pay occupants for the repairs they have made, including their own labor time.

The bill doesn't guarantee that squatters will get a home, but its passage is a remarkable admission of the failure of

ACORN organizers, 37 people have been arrested in the last two years.

Inhabitants of the tent city also took trips to Capitol Hill to visit with representatives and to take part in HUD hearings. And not wanting to leave out the president, they marched over to his house, and with bullhorns and placards urged him to come over to the tent city and discuss housing plans.

Washington, D.C., police, however, were not so hospitable. National Park Service regulations prohibit sleeping in tents on the grounds, and the police were out to enforce them the two nights. "It was real nip and tuck the first night," Wright said. "We just stayed up and sang and drank coffee, and talked, and cussed 'em a little bit—but not out loud." —P.C.

private real estate interests to meet housing needs and prevent neighborhood decline in a depressed urban setting. It is also special in that it gives legal recognition to the value of work of squatters as urban homesteaders, even if it impinges on the prerogatives of private property owners.

"Clearly this bill was passed and signed by the mayor because of squatting," DiBerardinis said. "They saw this as a way of stemming squatting.... But it is interesting how good progressive legislation can advance struggles. John Street's bill is really going to move things—build greater pressure." With the rising expectations, organizers see the need for stronger community pressure in order to keep the city accountable and the new program moving despite flaws.

"The bill doesn't mean very much unless there's money to implement it, and that money is housed in the mayor's office," said Grover Wright, chairman of the Philadelphia chapter of ACORN.

Other segments of the city's bureaucracy also seem to have a questionable commitment to the plan. The licensing and inspections department, which is in charge of working up the improvement contract with the future occupants, has stated that it won't inspect occupied buildings. Such a move would still leave squatters out in the cold. The added work would also deluge an already over-worked department since as yet no extra staff or money has been promised. OHCD is also facing an extra load without the staff to handle it.

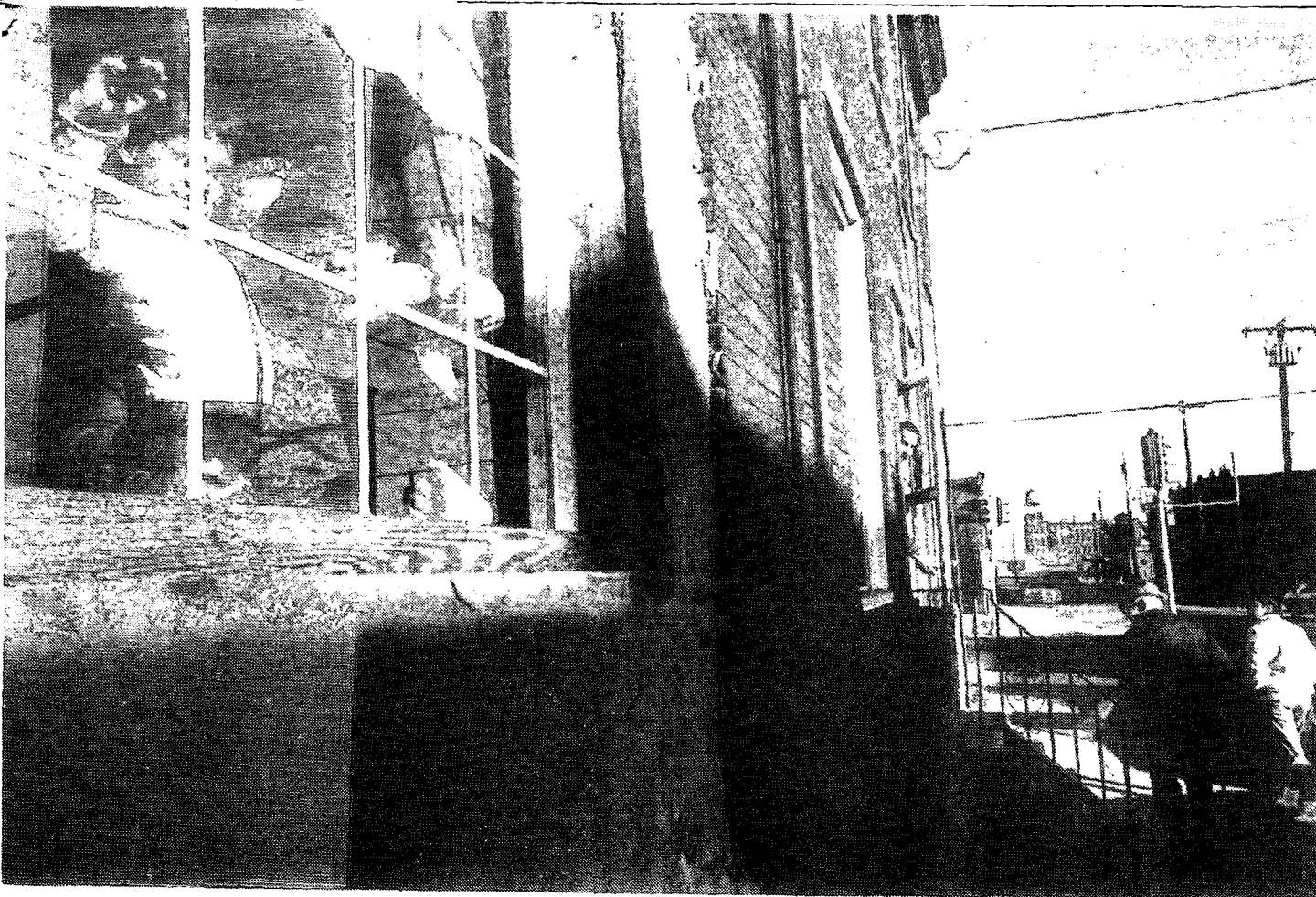
That makes some organizers skeptical. Does the city really want the bill to work or is it just more paper covering the windows of a poorly constructed housing program? After all, the Gift Property Program could have worked, they say, if the city had been committed to it.

There are other problems. Although the bill passed unanimously in the city council, members could use their own discretion about what sections of their turf to include in the bill. Such a move made political maneuvering possible, but also reopened some old wounds. Jannotti, who controlled the Gift Property Program for so long, held out the two wards in his district with the highest rates of abandonment in the city. That, organizers say, will be the next big fight. More than 100 people gathered outside Jannotti's office on the day the bill went into effect to protest the exclusion of the 19th and 37th wards.

But that fight and the fight to include low-interest improvement loans are not expected to be won easily. But then, nothing has been easy so far.

"We're still squatting and we're going to continue to keep squatting because it's going to be very hard for the city to run this program," DiBerardinis said. "And we're still squatting people in the 19th ward so that we will have a base to challenge the city to run it right."

Paul Choitz and Dave Davies are Philadelphia-based freelance writers.



Dave Davies and Paul Choitz

Photography by Paul Choitz

A precedent-setting law makes squatting legal in Philadelphia.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

PRE-WEDDING PRESENT

TIMES ARE TOUGH ALL AROUND, AND even though I'm in between jobs and further strapped because I'm getting married in a month, here's a small contribution that's only a fraction of the support I feel for the fine work you're doing. The left needs you!

—Jan Pilarski
Washington, D.C.

ROUGH ALL OVER

I WAS VERY UPSET BY YOUR LETTER describing the serious financial difficulty the paper is having. *In These Times* is a very important newspaper and it would be a great loss if it no longer existed.

I am enclosing a small contribution at this time. I wish it could be more. I know you realize that these are difficult times for most of us and I hope as the months pass I will be able to increase my Sustainer's pledge.

Thank you for your sacrifices in trying to keep the paper in print.

—Cecilia Klotz
Madison, Wisc.

THE LONG MARCH

HAVING SUPPORTED THE SOCIALIST movement since my early youth (1918), confident of its eventual support by the workers of this nation, but so long disappointed in its impact on that group, I welcomed the coming into existence of *In These Times*. Its form of presentation revived my hopes. Now 83 years of age I do not want it to cease publication. Its efforts must continue. Kindly accept this modest contribution toward that goal. I would like to have increased this but am unable.

—R.J. Sittig
Bellingham, Wash.

FOIL RONNIE

I USED TO BE A COLLEGE PROFESSOR. I am now a neophyte door-to-door salesman. I am not alone. A colleague in similar circumstances is now a carpenter—when he can get work. Since he is divorced, he also works for the Peace and Freedom Party. I still have to hustle for the family. If I sell a solar water heater I'll send you some more money.

In These Times is a great newspaper. I'm sure Ronnie-the-Actor wants it to fail. Let's hope he doesn't get his desire fulfilled. America is a shambles. We're in a depression. Let's also hope it doesn't lead to WWII.

—Carl
San Francisco, Calif.

FROM GIFT TO NECESSITY

FEW PEOPLE YOU SEND IN *THESE Times* to are scraping it as close as my wife and I, but we need you like the bread and eggs. We wonder why it is that when times get tough in this country all the good, necessary and important articles of our life have to go first. Wouldn't it be an interesting world if we invested the lion's share of our productive capacity into these things instead of the wasteful material of corporate profits and their support systems.

What began as a gift subscription for us has become an everyday necessity—so please don't die. I'm sure we'll get our "money's worth."

—Tony and Monica Smit-Brunello
Eugene, Ore.

WRONG STRUMMER

THE CLASH IS UNQUESTIONABLY THE most stimulating, innovative and musically exciting band performing today—if not ever. And for those of us

who have raved to the unbelievers of their considerable talents, since their stunning 1977 debut album *The Clash*, the recent awareness of their importance in the musical world has been rewarding.

I enjoyed David Corn's article (*ITT*, June 30). However, before Corn preaches any more truths about the Clash, he should be made aware of the real truth about the Clash. Mick Jones plays guitar. Joe Strummer, not Jones, remains the band's vocalist and conscience.

—John Morrison
San Francisco, Calif.

BUT THANKS

I JUST WANTED TO THANK *ITT* (JUNE 30) for continuing to give notice to rock and roll in general and the Clash specifically. Whether they have a complete political program or not, or ever express a leftist position in positive terms, they are challenging, innovative and rare in popular music. Its hard to come up with the names of many other popular artists who have the courage and imagination of the Clash or who have sustained such moral commitment for so long.

—Thomas Lenon
Seattle, Wash.

ANTI-SEMITISM

IF I HAVE A HARD TIME BELIEVING that "one can even be for the policies of the PLO without being anti-semitic," it's people like Michael Prosch (*Letters*, *ITT*, June 30) who make me skeptical. He writes: "Workers manage and control the PLO factory organizations. Except for the agricultural sector, does anything like this exist in Israel? The answer, of course, is no." First, I don't know why he dismisses the large scale collectivization of Israeli agriculture. Were American agribusinesses converted to socialized cooperatives would he similarly think that an insignificant development, or is a double standard being applied here? Moreover, it must be noted that the Histadrut, Israel's largest union, is also Israel's largest employer, and that the trend for years on many kibbutzim has been toward manufacturing, so "of course," worker-managed industries are growing in Israel.

What bothers me far more, though, is that in dismissing as "ridiculous" Sheldon Ranz's assertion that Mitchell Kaidy's letter was anti-semitic, Prosch doesn't seem to appreciate what anti-semitism is, and therefore wouldn't know it if he saw it, even in himself. Though its ultimate causes may be difficult to fathom, its symptoms are familiar to those who have suffered from it for millennia. Those who flirt with the logic of positions the Jews ought to be taught, all too often make the mistake of thinking that the "good reasons" for their beliefs mean they couldn't possibly be acting like crazed, irrational Jew-haters. To the contrary, anti-semites are not generally known for conveniently identifying themselves by walking around with Jewish blood dripping from their mouths. While it's true that princes of darkness periodically infect the mob with an anti-semitic virus, the disease regularly reaches epidemic proportions among "good" people with "good reasons" for believing that: The Jews bear collective guilt for Jesus' crucifixion; that we ritually murder Christian children and sacramentally desecrate Eucharistic hosts; that we are obstinate misanthropes with no interest beyond money except, perhaps, for ruling the world; or that we are heartless monsters with no better preoccupation than genocidally exterminating the Palestinians.

My opinion is that given the world's history of massively insane and staggeringly shameful conduct toward the Jews, people owe it to us to think it over a good ten billions times before coming down on us again.

—Jeremy Weir Alderson
Interlaken, N.Y.

SIMPLE

IT IS IRONIC THAT NO ONE HAS MENTIONED the only solution to the problem of where the Palestinian soldiers may go when they leave Beirut: home to Palestine. The withdrawal of the Israeli army from all illegally held territories, including Lebanon and the West Bank, and the return of the Palestinians to their homeland is the only solution to the fighting in the Middle East. There is only one question remaining: whether, after establishment of a Palestinian state, recognized by the UN, on the West Bank, there should be discussions leading to the integration of Israel-Palestine into a secular state, or whether Israel will continue as a semi-fascist theocracy oppressing its non-Jewish citizens and rattling the sabres of war over the entire region for decades to come.

—Ann Tattersall
Eugene, Ore.

CORRECTION PLUS

I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR READERS' attention to an error in my article, "An Open Letter to American Jews" (*ITT*, June 30). The reference to "Le Monde's veteran journalist Uri Avnery" was incorrect. Avnery is the Israeli journalist and former Knesset member whose recent meeting with PLO leader Arafat in Beirut has been reported in the Israeli, European and American press.

The time lag between the submission of my article and its publication raises another problem. Readers following developments in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon will have realized that there was a considerable gap in what I reported with respect to Israeli demonstrations against the war and Jewish reaction in the U.S. In both cases much had happened in the interim. The scope of opposition in Israel has increased. Within the U.S., the Jewish community has broken ranks and expressed a range of criticisms and concerns with the nature and objective of Israeli policies. Both of these developments undermine an assumed uncritical support, which in the case of the U.S., was largely intact prior to this war.

The effort to downplay the scope of civilian casualties, to justify use of cluster bombs, to persuade Israelis and others that the notion of peace with Palestinians and the PLO is not to be considered, are part of an ongoing campaign to stem the tide of public opinion—both in Israel and abroad. The results are sometimes bitterly ironic. Thus, while 100,000 Israelis protest the invasion and war, pro-Israel Americans demand full support for Israeli policies. And while Israelis are realizing the nature and depth of the civil war in Lebanon in which they are allied with right-wing Phalangist forces, and beginning to question its significance (Zeev Schiff, *Haaretz*, June 24), the same pro-Israel defense endorses this alliance in the name of the restoration of Lebanese "integrity."

—Prof. Irene L. Gendzier
Boston, Mass.

YOU'RE WELCOME

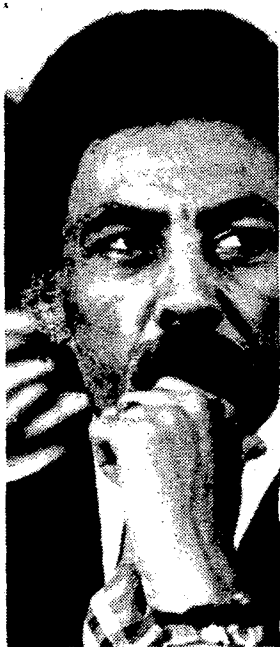
HERE'S A FORMAL THANK-YOU FOR all your terrific coverage of news on the left. I am living in a small community where progressive politics is rarely—if ever—discussed, and *In These Times* is a much-welcomed link to progressive movements "on the outside." I read the paper religiously as soon as it arrives each week.

Keep up the good work. I will work on getting you some more subscribers in Milledgeville!

—Janet Groat
Milledgeville, Ga.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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DIALOG

Body-building on the left

By Ruth Messinger & Paul Du Brul

THE DISTRESSING EBB AND flow of the American left has often been cited in these pages: the spectacular growth then subsidence of the American Socialist Party in the first two decades of the century; the broad social protest movement of the '30s (especially the explosion of industrial unionism); and the civil rights/student/antiwar continuum of the '60s and early '70s. Each phase accomplished very real achievements but failed to create a permanent political institution in its wake to continue the work.

Now, with the emergence of a vast new antinuclear weapons movement and growing popular anger at Reagan's butchery of essential social programs, we seem poised for another upswelling of left protest. Because it is so urgent that this burgeoning movement rise from "protest to politics" and programmatically go beyond many of the failed liberal approaches of the recent past, we share *In These Times'* hopes that the newly-merged Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) can rapidly fill the desperate need for both an electoral program and strategy.

However, when discussing electoral campaigns in 1982, we shouldn't overestimate the immediate possibilities or the strengths of an organization that is big by domestic socialist standards but hardly a match yet for the vast majority of traditional players in American politics. DSA is still the 98-pound weakling on this beach. Besides, we get nervous when anyone advocates running candidates (as *In These Times* did in its April 7 editorial) "to attract members or become known in the community." This sounds ominously similar to the "educational campaigns" that have always proved such a waste of time and energy for left sectlets over the years.

First things first. DSA has some difficult growing pains to overcome. The organization is seriously in debt and it must develop a healthy and dynamic internal life where the members of both merged organizations will feel at home. Strangely enough, our prescription for both of these problems is rapid membership growth. As veterans of the political movements of the last two decades, we are constantly saddened by the memory of the millions who have passed through the movement and then lapsed into political inactivity. We are certain each DSA member knows at least 10 such people, friends or co-workers. For instance, more than half of the 70,000 people reading this issue of *ITT* are by definition "dues cheaters," holding themselves aloof from DSA membership on some minor doctrinal point, protecting their lethargy. The first order of business then must be a flat-out membership drive with the objective of a ten-fold increase this year.

Even that level of growth won't provide the critical mass we need to become a significant electoral force, but it will provide the stability, depth and financial relief essential for continued steady growth. It's time for the non-sectarian left to come home.

DSA's electoral activity should move forward in the same organic fashion, moving from strength to strength. While DSA has a long tradition of local electoral autonomy stemming from the experience of both the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and New American Movement (NAM), we must assume that in these next few years defending past victories will be the priority for politically active locals. Simply

put, where our members have been elected, we want to reelect them; we also want to convert the near victories of the past into real victories in 1982. In this regard, *In These Times* and *Democratic Left* have a special responsibility for providing early and comprehensive coverage on who is running where and how they can be aided.

Beyond these primary commitments, it seems clear to us that most of our efforts nationally will be expended campaigning for those left Democrats who agree with us on the fundamentals of a program of renovation, including sharp cuts in the military budget, a nuclear freeze, restoration of cuts in human service programs, preservation of OSHA, Clean Air laws, etc. Obviously, this means working in coalitions. Unlike too often in the past, however, it also means making clear demands for adoption by the candidate and coalition of our policy positions and support for our issues. We are not in business to be the shock troops of liberalism. Specifically, these should involve basic demands around the democratic control of investment (especially control of pension funds), plant closing bills and NLRB reforms, rent controls and massive, effective realignment of

taxes on businesses and wealthy individuals—in short, a clear anti-corporate program whose features can be accommodated to the relevant powers of different levels of government.

And while we are making clear programmatic demands on those closest to us in the political spectrum, we should begin taking a hard and hostile look at traditional "lesser-evilism." Too often in the past we have supported Democrats just because they wore the label or had trade union backing, even though you could hardly slip a sheet of paper between them and their Republican opponents. No more. We may still vote for these turkeys to assure Democratic organizational control over various legislative houses, but we shouldn't lift a finger to help them additionally. It also isn't necessary to endorse in every race on the ticket to be politically effective. We can often have much more impact concentrating on one or two local candidates intent on building the progressive movement.

At the same time, we should avoid involvement in clearly foredoomed primary or independent campaigns whose only purpose is to harass "Atari-Democrats" or other execrations. Campaigns should never be undertaken lightly or for their

"nuisance" value, tempting as that course sometimes is. We should run to win. That doesn't by any stretch mean that we are opposed to *all* independent campaigns, especially those conducted by the Citizens' Party. Quite the contrary. We just feel that it would be a serious disservice to enlist the limited resources of the democratic left without a serious chance of winning.

We do feel that the Citizens' Party is probably doing itself unnecessary damage by refusing to cross-endorse Democrats who share their general political outlook. They could probably serve as a much greater catalyst for the left realignment we all crave by throwing their weight publicly as well as privately behind left Democrats and we hope that this policy will come under serious reassessment after the current election season.

In summary, then, we share *ITT's* conviction that 1982 does present the greatest opportunity for socialists in many decades, but we urge that this opportunity be approached in a hard-headed, restrained fashion that will enable us to maintain a pattern of steady growth immune to the historical shocks that have so crippled the undertakings of our forebears in this century.

Ruth Messinger is running for her second term as a member of the New York City Council. Paul Du Brul is a political activist and co-author with Jack Newfield of The Permanent Government: Who Really Runs New York? (Pilgrim, 1981).

The impulse to protect fragile Israel

By Morris Alexander

THE RECENT MILITARY expedition of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) into Lebanon to eliminate the PLO threat to Israel's Northern Galilee mushroomed into an all-out effort to drive the PLO and the Syrians out of Lebanon. This more than mini war appeared to have achieved its military objective. But at what cost? And what will be the political repercussions? The resignation of Secretary of State Haig and the appointment of George Shultz as Secretary of State surely signal trouble for Israel with the U.S., its only ally.

This latest in Israel's many wars since its creation in 1948 requires an updated examination of the relationship between Israel and American Jews. It is my thesis, supported by most American Jews, that Begin and Sharon's venture to "Free the Galilee" once again confirms the existence of an umbilical tie that bound Jews in crises throughout 2,000 years of dispersion.

In the course of this century the U.S. has witnessed a homogenization of most of the ethnic groups that constitute today's "Americans." Though major exceptions remain, notably Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and especially blacks, for the most part the Americanization process has accelerated and the Jews are totally a part of it.

Unquestionably, attitudes of ridicule, snobbery, religious and ethnic intolerance and perverse cruelty remain on the American scene. All of the minorities of the U.S. have suffered from bias, in greater or lesser degree; the Irish, the Poles, even the Swedes, Italians, Greeks, and now especially blacks and Latinos. And certainly evidence of Anti-Semitism remains in the land. All of this reflects the residual rawness of America. As time goes on, it is fair to predict or at least hope that racial inhumanity will become attenuated and aberrational.

The myth of Jewish domination of banking, the press and in other American industries and economic and politi-

Assimilated American Jews retain an historic loyalty.

cal areas has long since been exploded. But in the process of assimilation during the past decades Jews have indeed entered the mainstream of American life in a myriad of ways. Jewish sons, daughters and grandchildren are no longer mostly doctors, lawyers, dentists, pharmacists, retail shopkeepers, accountants and salesmen. They are also writers, editors, publishers, educators, playwrights, scientists, actors, directors, dancers, inventors, musicians, composers, symphony conductors, athletes, contractors, farmers, senators, painters (art and house), governors, representatives, cabinet makers, designers, politicians, policemen, architects.

In the American acculturation process the Jewish contribution is not inconsiderable. Yiddish and Hebrew have enriched the American language. In cuisine, fiction, plays, theater, motion pictures, television, radio and many other areas, the impact of Jewish culture in molding of the "American" is unique.

For better or worse Jewish communities no longer exist in the sense that they did in the 19th and early 20th centuries, based on the mutuality of religion and commonality of immigrant background. What does remain with many American Jews, to their credit, is an attachment, an historical memory, pride in one's derivation and curiosity about one's roots.

Moreover, with most American Jews, despite intermarriage, weakening of the religious connection, the lack of knowledge of the rich Yiddish language, even the fading memory of the Nazi Holocaust, there does seem to remain an immutable genetic dimension. Though this dimension exists over and above total immersion as integral Americans, the term "American Jew" is becoming rather superficial, perhaps even archaic.

It is this writer's observation that since the 1948 War of Independence, the Sinai Campaign of 1956, the six-day war of 1967, the three years of shooting at the Suez Canal (the War of Attrition) and the major Yom Kippur War of 1973, throughout all of these threats to Israel's existence as a nation, the interest, concern and support of Americans of Jewish derivation has been almost total and united. This concern seems now to be the primary corroboration of American Jews qua Jews.

It has been suggested that the militant commitments to Israel on the part of most American Jews is compensation for a loss of identity and tradition among American Jews, a sort of guilt complex. I do not buy that argument totally. I believe it is also a stirring of deeply buried historical memory that persists and sustains survival instincts. However attenuated by contemporary existential factors, however explained or inexplicable, the strong and persistent gut impulse to support and protect a fragile Israel by Americans of Jewish derivation fortuitously is a major plus for the embattled anachronistic Jewish oasis in the Mid East.

Particularly is this support essential at a time when the Israelis are battered on one side by the excesses of General Sharon and the Begin administration and on the other by the apparent tilt of the Reagan administration toward the pro-Arab financial interests of international conglomerates.

Finally, a clue to the large number of formerly anti-Zionist Jewish leftists who have become Israel supporters may be found in their growing awareness of the role of big business in the Arab-Israel confrontation. Most of them continue to support the indisputable need for a free and independent homeland for Palestinians, but they are becoming aware that this worthy goal is being used as a facade for the business moguls of the U.S. and the Western nations in partnership with Arab princes to further their mutual interests in the Persian Gulf.

Morris Alexander, a Chicago lawyer, was founder and chairman for 15 years of the International B'nai B'rith Committee for Israel.

PERSPECTIVES

Deficit spending rides again

By Richard B. Du Boff

IN MID-JUNE, AFTER FIVE months of bickering, Congress agreed on a "Reagan budget" for the next fiscal year (starting Oct. 1) that provides for expenditures of \$769.8 billion, including the largest peacetime increase in military spending and deep new cuts in social programs. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the federal deficit will reach \$116 billion, but even that figure could be conservative.

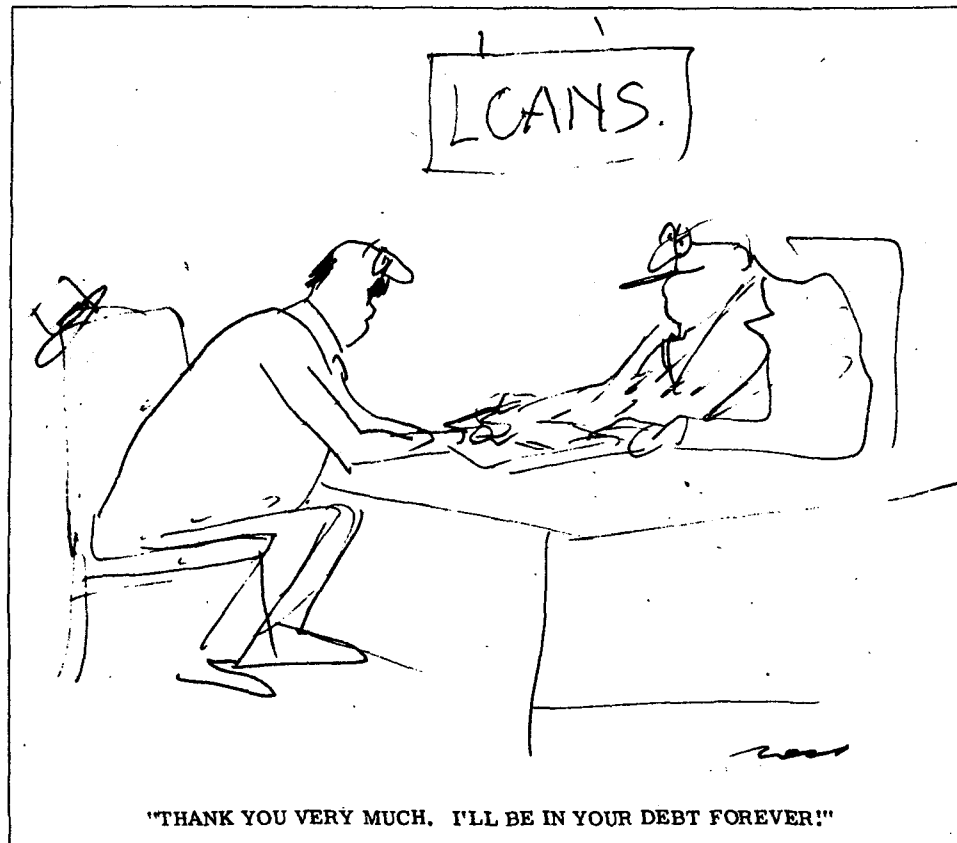
The government's deficit depends on the balance between its revenues and expenditures. Both sides of the ledger can be altered by the state of the economy. A recession will, of course, depress tax revenues and push up outlays for unemployment compensation. The expenditure side is affected by another uncontrollable factor—the level of interest rates that the U.S. Treasury must pay. So nobody can tell how large the 1983 deficit will ultimately be, but one can safely assume that the Reagan administration, like its predecessors, is understating the volume of red ink it will be spilling.

Is the size of the federal deficit important? Is a big deficit "bad" or "good"? This tricky question is complicated by the opportunist stance of the new "supply-side" rightists who have been struggling to convince Ronald Reagan, against his own '20s-vintage beliefs, that deficits are "good" if they result from tax cuts that spur private investment, managerial initiative and labor productivity. The sizeable federal deficits of 1982 and 1983 have indeed been caused in part by the 1981 Reagan tax reductions aimed at restoring business profits and depriving Washington of its ability to raise revenue. But the expanding deficits also testify to the failure of "supply-side" Reaganomics, as the economy remains saddled with rising unemployment, declining business profits and lagging personal incomes and continued record-high interest costs of financing debt, both public and private.

On these grounds the basic "Keynesian" view of government budget deficits is essentially correct, with a major qualification:

- During an economic downturn a deficit is "good" because it means that government is spending more than it is collecting in taxes, thereby shoring up aggregate purchasing power at a time when private-sector wages and profits are being eroded.

- While deficits can be inflationary during periods of economic boom and low unemployment, this outcome depends on



how the deficit is financed. It may not directly increase the nation's money supply or the demand for key goods and services. In fact, over the past three decades there has been no correlation between federal deficits and inflation (*In These Times*, April 8, 1981).

- The national debt, presently totaling \$1.1 trillion, has been growing less rapidly than the gross national product, so that it creates no serious "carrying problems" for the overall economy—certainly fewer problems than private debt loads are posing for financially strained households, corporations and banks.

And there hangs the tale. It is a story of financial markets in disarray, corporations and thrift institutions jeopardized by overextended borrowing and high interest rates and a potential liquidity crisis.

Financial markets, where bonds, stocks and other liability and equity instruments are issued and traded, have become the most crisis-prone part of the American economy. As a potential trouble spot, they have traditionally been given short shrift by mainstream economists; they have been utterly ignored by the monetarists and supply-siders feuding over other issues inside the Reagan White House.

Since the early '60s, but particularly over the past 10 years, private indebtedness has been increasing at the highest rate in our history, and far more swiftly than government debt (federal, state or local). Total private debt for both consumers and business firms now stands at more than four times the federal debt. Twice since 1974, *Business Week* has sounded a cover-story alarm over our ballooning "debt economy." A March 1982 *New York Times* survey warned that "at no time since World War II has the financial position of the nation's corporate sector been so weak," with nonbank debt now in excess of \$1.2 trillion and, more significantly, increasing concern whether companies can service that debt as it comes due.

"Liquidity" is simply a matter of having enough available cash to pay bills in the near future no matter what happens to profits. Escalating debt burdens have lowered liquidity ratios dramatically since the mid-'70s. All the standard measures of corporate liquidity have been deteriorating. Ratios of quick assets to liabilities have been plunging since 1976. (Quick assets are a company's cash, marketable securities and accounts receivable, or all the assets it possesses or could sell quickly to pay bills.) Net interest as a percentage

of corporate profits before both interest and taxes is now 16 percent or more—over a third greater than only five years ago. Facts like these lead Felix Rohatyn, New York investment banker and prominent advocate of corporatist-style "economic planning" as an alternative to Reaganomics, to state that "the levels of risk are higher now than at any time I can remember."

Vicious circle.

Historically, more frequent recourse to debt—selling bonds or borrowing funds from banks and other financial institutions—goes hand-in-hand with marginal business ventures, real estate promotions, takeovers and mergers, open-ended bank loans to other countries, commodity plays and other forms of speculation limited only by the agility of fast-buck seekers (who are rarely lacking in imagination or resourcefulness). The faster the rate of debt accumulation, in other words, the less likely it is that such speculative schemes will prove able to pay for themselves and the faster the deterioration in the quality of outstanding loans.

This is precisely why Hyman Minsky of Washington University (St. Louis) believes that "the tendency to transform doing well into a speculative investment boom is the basic instability in a capitalist economy." For Minsky, an increase in the weight of debt financing makes it doubtful whether a firm's profit flows will be sufficient to "validate" its debts—whether its sales proceeds will cover its interest and amortization charges.

The great corporate liquidity squeeze of 1981-82 may be understood in these terms. Nearly three years of uninterrupted economic stagnation have hit corporate profits from two sides: unit sales have leveled off (and have dropped for some companies, like the automakers); and sales revenues have been compressed by "disinflation," since with lower inflation rates product prices have been rising more slowly than most costs of production. At the same time, carrying charges on the mounting volumes of corporate debt have reached staggering proportions as interest rates remain "gridlocked" at stratospheric levels.

Interest payments of nonbank corporations have surged, from \$45 billion in 1979 to an annual rate of \$73 billion in the first quarter of 1982. Bankruptcies are on the rise. During the week of June 21, more businesses failed than in any single week during the Depression, passing the

mark set just the week before. Three major corporations have already gone under (Braniff, Addressograph-Multigraph and Wickes), while others (International Harvester, A&P and Ford) hang on for dear life.

Yet as the ongoing recession eats into sales revenues, firms are being forced to borrow still more to meet bills coming due, a process that raises their debt costs and makes them even weaker financially. Economic consultant Raymond Dalio comments that this scene at least resembles the first stages of a depression: "[It] is a self-feeding liquidity crisis—it's a cash flow squeeze that occurs when the economy turns down, inventories are being sold, borrowings increased and liquidity reduced."

Some observers stress the fragility of the worldwide financial network. Julian Snyder, publisher of *International Moneyline*, told the New York Society of Security Analysts last February that the threat of depression lies in a spell of high unemployment and idle industrial capacity inducing deeper debt for businesses and consumers: It grows out of "an unmanageable amount of consumer installment debt..., a mountain of home mortgage debt, a huge pyramid of business debt, erected on a thin equity base and a critical mass of international borrowing, resting on a continuing flow of credit from the U.S."

Reagan rides roughshod.

Into this precarious situation of illiquid corporations and savings banks comes the Reagan budget, deficits abounding. Two dire possibilities emerge: first, the swollen federal deficits will compete in capital markets for available funds, driving interest rates up further or preventing them from falling, as they are expected to do during times of slack economic activity. Second, the simple perception of deficits well above \$100 billion will provoke an "exceptional" reaction; it may cause people to believe that interest rates will move higher, distress the financial community, and foreshadow a collapse of bond and equity markets as investors dump securities. Business investment will then dry up, and a full-fledged depression will be on the way.

All this is taking place against the backdrop of the monetarist-inspired "tight money" policy introduced by Paul Volcker when he became chairman of the Federal Reserve Board in November 1979. Volcker sees himself as the only "inflation fighter" in Washington. After all, the Reagan fiscal policy is becoming ever "looser" with spiraling budget deficits, and both the Carter and Reagan administrations have eschewed any wage-price controls or incomes policy approaches to stemming inflation.

But clamping down on the money supply and raising interest rates lessen inflation only by bringing on a recession and throwing millions of people out of work, as we are witnessing. Thus, Volcker's "Fed" is caught between its crusade against inflation and the need to revive private consumption and investment. Should it finally relent and crank out more money to validate high levels of corporate debt while, at the same time, accommodating the projected federal deficits and allowing interest rates to ease lower? Should it so monetize the growing private and public debt—and risk rekindling inflation? If it chooses this path, then prices, which normally continue to fall in the first stages of recovery, may rise considerably faster as desperate business firms leap at the opportunity to reflate sales revenues and improve battered balance sheets.

Or should the Fed hold fast to its tight money policy and possibly cause a cracking of the fragile financial structure of industrial corporations and banks (not to mention homeowners, lower-income workers and others with somewhat less political clout than the Fortune 500)?

With the piling up of debt domestically and internationally, some classic conditions for a systemic breakdown now exist. Increasingly, the "economic growth" that capitalism requires to

Continued on page 22

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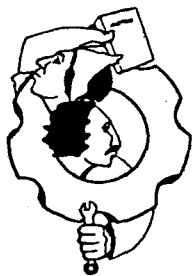
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While the major powers sparred the minor ones kvetched.

By David Corn

NEW YORK

TEN, 20 OR 30 YEARS FROM now, when the radioactive dust settles, perhaps the few remaining diplomats will crawl out of the wreckage once known as the United Nations and agree on a comprehensive program of disarmament. But on July 9—the penultimate day of the second Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-II)—there was not much to celebrate. Ambassador Mansoor Ahmed of Pakistan, while speaking to members of the diminished press corps, said, “Not only will there be a third special session, but a fourth, fifth, sixth special session and so on.” He remarked that he thought a realistic time frame for disarmament is, at the best, 20 years.

It was a gloomy forecast for a bleak day. Five weeks of speeches, receptions, meetings of working groups and negotiations brought few tangible accomplishments. Little progress was made on a comprehensive program of disarmament, the purported “centerpiece” of the session. The session was unable to produce an assessment of the strongly worded “final document” of the first special session (held in 1978) that provides a framework for global disarmament efforts. And the World Disarmament Campaign (WDC), designed to promote public interest in disarmament and agreed upon in the closing minutes of the session, fell far short of the desires of many observers.

Commenting on the WDC, Caroline Krebs, director of information for the Institute for World Order, remarked, “It looks to be a slightly expanded version of the UN Centre for Disarmament.... They are just putting a name over a series of events that already occur.”

At the conclusion of the session, disappointment was widely expressed. In his closing remarks to SSD-II, Ismat T. Kitani of Iraq, the president of the General Assembly, said, “We cannot be proud of our achievements here; they are too few and too insubstantial.” Two days earlier, Homer Jack, secretary-general of the World Conference on Religion and Peace and a long-time disarmament proponent, called the gathering “an unmitigated failure.”

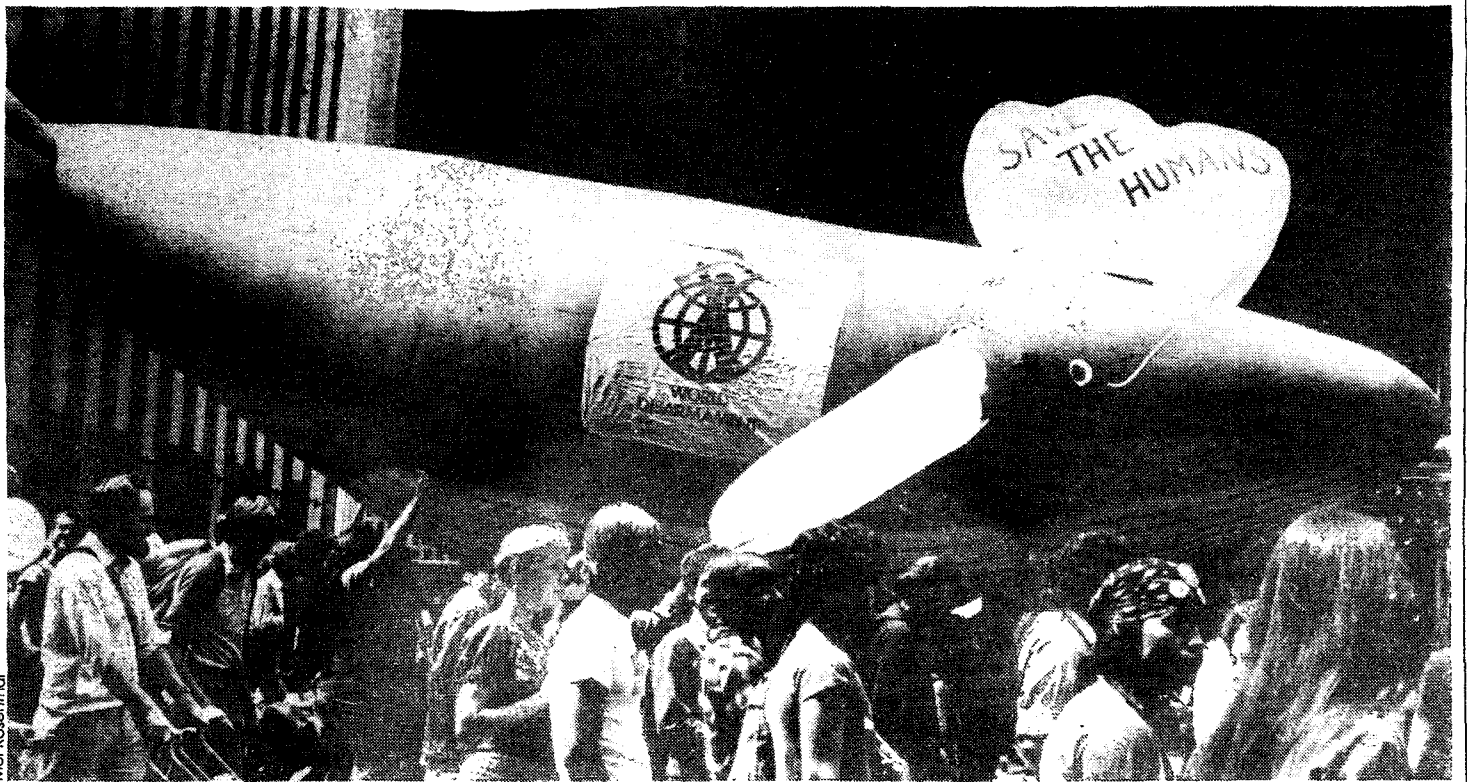
Jack noted that the member states, and thus the UN, were unable to react positively to the growing demand for nuclear disarmament, that the Secretary General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, gave little leadership to the session, that attempts were made to weaken the final document of SSD-I, and that, ultimately, the chances of nuclear holocaust were not lessened.

No sense of urgency.

The failure of the second session is nowhere more evident than in the “concluding document” adopted by the General Assembly. Unlike its predecessor, the final document of SSD-I, this report lacks any sense of urgency, and it expresses “regrets” that the General Assembly “has not been able to adopt a document on the Comprehensive Program of Disarmament and on a number of other items on its agenda.”

Absent is the passion embodied in the final document. During the session, most of the passion was demonstrated by those outside the UN who marched, blockaded, chanted, stood vigils and hoped. “The role of diplomacy,” Jack explained cynically, “is to iron out passion with rhetoric.”

But neither critics nor participants were willing to go so far as to declare the session worthless. Most were busy in the final days of SSD-II, attempting to seek out



PERSPECTIVES

UN disarmament opportunity fizzles

the dim silver linings. Peter Whittle, co-director of the Quaker UN Office in Geneva, took as a positive sign the appearance of Reagan and Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, which he linked to recent shifts in world opinion. “That's only a little foothold,” he said. “But you only need little footholds when climbing a mountain.”

Even Jack discerned some encouraging results, among them the media attention given to the initial weeks of SSD-II (which dropped dramatically after Reagan's address), the participation of non-governmental organizations and research institutions and the introduction of the freeze into an international forum (Mexico, India and Sweden each offered freeze proposals that foundered).

In between the propaganda wars waged during the General Assembly meetings, a few sound ideas managed to sneak into the debate. Unfortunately, they were not acted upon. Willibald Pahr, minister of foreign affairs of Austria, advocated security systems based on the “technology of peace,” early warning, detection and protection systems.

The issue of military versus social spending was constantly raised, as nations of the Third World tied disarmament to development.

James Victor Gbeho of Ghana noted that “the international community readily spends no less than \$500 billion each year on arms and armaments, while the basic needs of the poor of the earth remain unsatisfied.”

The lofty and, among the superpowers, unassailable notion of nuclear deterrence was attacked by several nations. India's minister for external affairs, P.V. Narasimha Rao, in an appeal to the nuclear states, maintained that theories of nuclear deterrence come in the way of the essential objectives of disarmament. It was a call that fell on deaf ears. And Italy, via a letter from Ambassador Umberto La Rocca to Olu Adeniji of Nigeria, the chairperson of the ad hoc committee, proposed the institution of an international body for the verification of disarmament agreements.

The real culprits.

But perhaps the most positive outcome was that the real culprits were revealed to the entire world. By the session's end, neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union could escape charges that the two governments most responsible for the arms race

were most responsible for the failure of the special session as well. Ambassador Ahmed in recounting the major obstacles faced by the participants in SSD-II cited the “polarization” between West and East. Several hours after Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Union's minister of foreign affairs, addressed the General Assembly, Tomas A. Tommasson of Iceland raised the issue. He put it bluntly. There was no possibility of achieving success in disarmament negotiations, he told his fellow delegates, if the U.S. and the Soviet Union were in reality not willing to cooperate. And they were not.

Throughout the session both countries drew combative stances. This was obvious during the General Assembly debate and less publicized during the meetings of the ad hoc committee, the group responsible for the actual work of the session.

At the July 2 meeting of this committee, the two superpowers bickered over an unimportant procedural point: Should the subject of the prevention of nuclear war be delegated to a special working group? The U.S. position: No, it is too important an issue to be relegated to one small group. The Soviet Union's position: Yes, this issue is so important that it deserves such detailed consideration.

Most of the meeting was spent on this debate, which afforded the U.S. representative at the meeting, Kenneth Adelman, deputy permanent representative to the UN, an opportunity to flex his diplomatic wit. After most of the Eastern bloc countries had one by one spoken in support of the Soviet stance, Adelman commented, “We have now heard essentially the same remarks from the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Cuba. I hope that we can have the remaining countries, Czechoslovakia, Byelorussia, Vietnam, submit the statement for the record while we move on to the more important and substantive issues before the session.” Those substantive issues were not reached that day.

Three days earlier, the meeting of the ad hoc committee was again dominated by U.S.-USSR quarreling, this time over mutual accusations involving chemical warfare. The U.S. representative, Rep. Samuel Stratton (N.Y.), cited a *Wall Street Journal* story and a report to Congress made in March by then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig that both charged that Soviet forces used chemical weapons

Meanwhile, millions of Americans expressed their desire for action.

in Afghanistan and that Soviet-backed armies have done the same in Laos and Kampuchea.

Soviet ambassador Victor Issraelyan countered, “We understand, of course, that for the Congressman *The Wall Street Journal* is rather like the Bible, but we wish to draw their attention to other documents.” And then he accused the U.S. of conducting a chemical war in South-east Asia.

Down to the wire, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union continued to heap blame on the other. Olag Troyanovsky of the Soviet Union declared before the General Assembly on July 10 that the U.S. and the NATO bloc served as the obstacle at the current session. Then Edwin Feulner Jr., of the U.S. charged that Soviet aggression and subversion prevented the implementation of the goals of the final document. He added that the U.S. was proud of its record in disarmament. (“What record?” one observer retorted.)

While the goliaths clashed, delegates from other nations spoke about countering despair and presenting a united front to the world by concentrating on the few achievements. But one delegate, Natarajan Krishnan of India, took exception. He remarked that SSD-II had failed because delegates preferred to paper over differences rather than seek means to work together and find common ground. “The tragedy of this exercise in futility,” he commented, “is that having fooled ourselves, we are now trying to fool the world.”

But Jack does not believe that the people of the world will remain fooled for too long. He predicted that there would be “rage and confrontation” when they realize what has *not* happened. “The results will be in two directions,” he said. “The failure will turn a lot of people off, and they'll go back to their gardens. But the failure will radicalize a lot of other people. There are thick walls over there [at the UN]. Everyone pays lip service to disarmament. Everybody talks about it, but no governments do anything about it.”

The various organs of the UN will continue to consider the issue of disarmament, another special session is not yet scheduled. The concluding document does call for a SSD-III to be held at a date decided by the General Assembly during its 1983 session, and most observers expect the session to convene three years from now. But as SSD-II illustrated, UN special sessions do not guarantee progress; they merely provide an opportunity for it. SSD-II was a missed opportunity.

David Corn is assistant editor of *Nuclear Watch*, a new magazine reporting on the nuclear disarmament movement.

INPRINT

HISTORY

Syphilis study as social microcosm

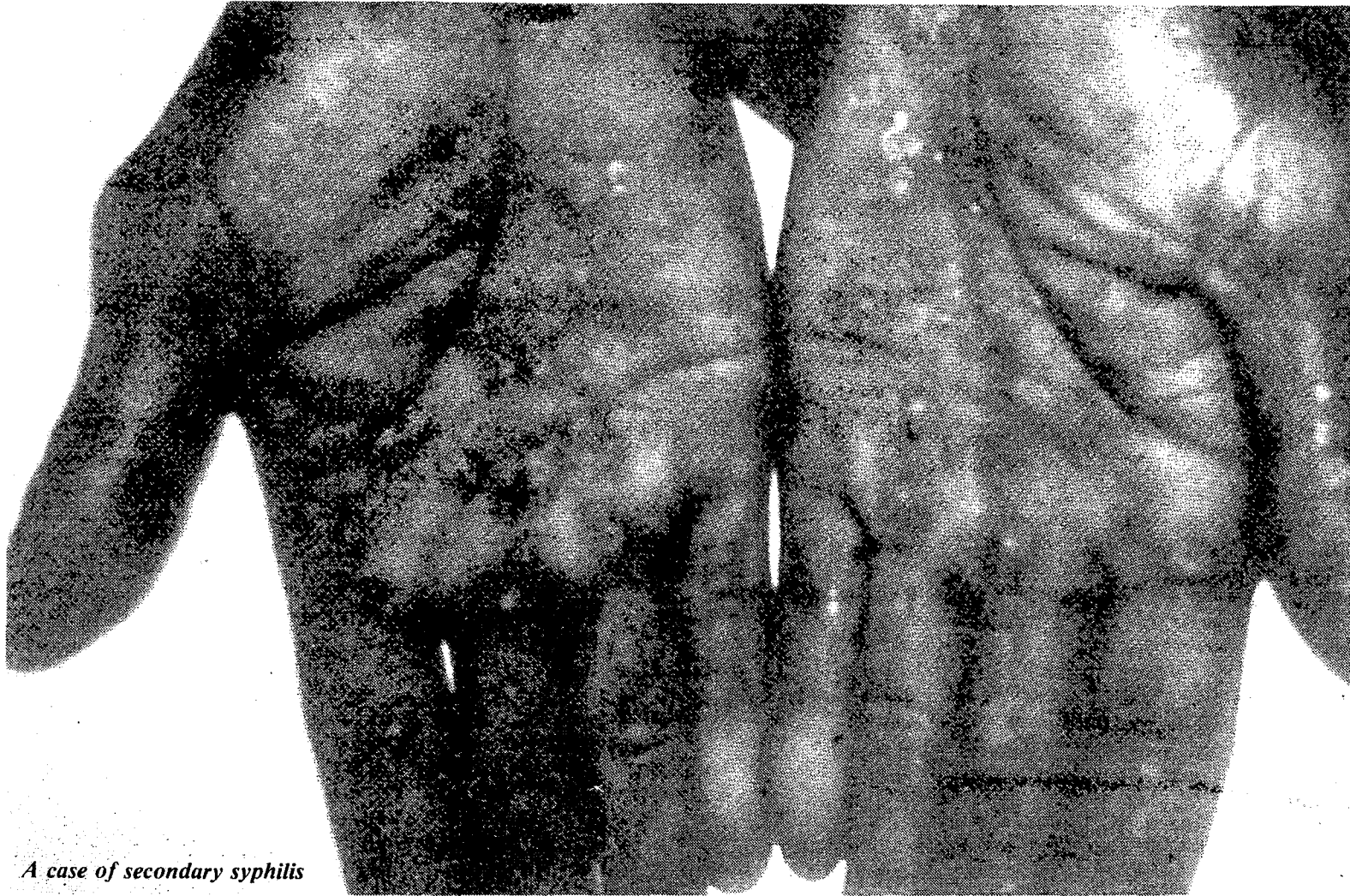
Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment
By James H. Jones
The Free Press, 272 pp., \$7.95

By Lawrence W. Levine

It has been a decade now since the July 25, 1972, *Washington Star* broke the news that for 40 years the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS) had been conducting an experiment in Macon County, Ala., in which more than 400 black males with syphilis were being observed but not treated. Since 1932 the staff of the Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male had kept careful records of the progress of the disease while the men lived, and had performed autopsies on their ravaged bodies when they died. In the ensuing investigations, one of the survivors testified that he and his friends had been used as "guinea pigs," and then admitted, "I don't know what that means.... I don't know what they used us for."

James H. Jones, who teaches American history at the University of Houston, has made it his task in *Bad Blood*, now out in paperback, to further our understanding of the Tuskegee Study. In the hands of a lesser historian the story of this incident could have turned into pure narrative, a morality play or an angry diatribe. Jones uses it as a microcosm to illuminate large areas of the American consciousness. Jones explains the meaning of the Tuskegee experiment by exploring medical beliefs, racial attitudes, bureaucratic practices in the context of the prevailing social and economic structure.

Jones illustrates the truth of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes' observation that medicine "is as sensitive to outside influence, political, religious, philosophical, imaginative, as the barometer to the atmospheric density." He demonstrates that at the turn of the century doctors, no less than their fellow citizens, believed that blacks possessed larger genitals, stronger lusts, smaller brains and lower morals—a combination resulting in a particularly high rate of venereal disease for which society need feel no blame. Few doctors, he writes, "were willing to ponder the responsibility that might fall to a profession whose members worked strictly on a fee-for-service basis and whose services were often beyond the reach of the poor."



A case of secondary syphilis

Public health crusaders, not medical ogres, made black syphilitic men into "guinea pigs."

In the early decades of the 20th century environment began to supplement race as an explanatory factor in questions of health. This did not end condemnation. The black man, one doctor wrote, "is what the white man makes him. By themselves the negroes will not better themselves," and thus help would have to be "almost forced upon them." The Tuskegee Study was born out of this set of attitudes.

Jones makes it clear that the experiment was not created by a group of medical ogres but by PHS doctors who were "crusaders, true believers" with a genuine interest in improving the health of black Americans. They had helped staff portable clinics to bring treatment to rural blacks. Unlike most of their colleagues, they had collaborated with black doctors and used their influence to get them advanced medical training and attractive

residencies. By the standards of their profession and their society these doctors were progressive on matters of both medicine and race. They entered the Tuskegee Study convinced that syphilis in blacks was qualitatively different than in whites and the differences had to be understood if blacks were to be treated effectively; and that if only they could demonstrate that for blacks no less than for whites syphilis was an environmentally-caused disaster, they could generate public programs for its control. "The irony was unmistakable," Jones writes. "A study of untreated syphilis might lead to the development of treatment programs."

Grateful subjects.

It was not the only irony of the Tuskegee affair. The doctors, convinced that their subjects had to be deceived for their own

good, told them they were being treated for "bad blood" and kept them ignorant of the fact that they suffered from a contagious disease transmitted through sexual intercourse, which could be passed along to the fetus through the mother's placenta. The experiment, which purported to study untreated male syphilis, was in fact flawed from the outset because all of the blacks involved at one time or another received medicines used in the treatment of syphilis. The state of the subjects' health care was so poor that the aspirin and iron tonic they were given as placebos relieved many of their discomforts and contributed positively to their general health, but did not, of course, relieve their syphilitic condition. At the annual medical examinations, the men, delighted by the medical attention and the free medicines, greeted the doctors cheerfully and brought them gifts of home-baked cornbread and cookies.

The subjects' gratitude would have diminished had they realized they were being denied effective aid for their most pressing medical need, especially after the discovery of penicillin, and that, as a consequence, their life expectancy was shortened by some 20 percent and they were allowed to spread the disease within their communities. Year after year, as the PHS won increased cooperation from local doctors and medical societies

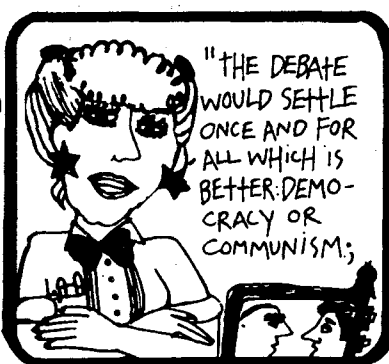
who agreed to withhold treatment, the men became more tightly enmeshed in a web that cut them off from aid and transformed them permanently from patients to subjects. The study was not conducted exclusively by whites. Tuskegee Institute and its medical facility, Andrew Hospital, cooperated fully, as did several black physicians and a black nurse who from 1932 to her retirement in 1965 had the most extended and effective contact with the men.

Jones shows how bureaucratic inertia and loyalty helped prolong the study in the face of changing racial attitudes and medical developments. Nor were there questions from the outside. In all of its consultations with local doctors, the PHS heard no objections on ethical grounds. As one official declared, "I don't recall any philosophical discussion." Not until 1965—33 years after the study's inception—did a member of the medical profession, Dr. Irwin Schatz, express astonishment "that physicians allow patients with a potentially fatal disease to remain untreated when effective therapy is available." A year later Peter Buxtun, a psychiatric social worker for the PHS who had been brought to the U.S. in 1937 by parents fleeing the Nazis, began an ultimately successful seven-year campaign against the Tuskegee Study insisting that the black subjects were not volunteers.

This affair resulted in revamped federal guidelines on human experimentation to protect future human subjects. But "for the men in the Tuskegee Study," Jones reminds us, "the new regulations came too late." ■
Lawrence W. Levine is a professor of history at the University of California, Berkeley.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



ART >> ENTERTAINMENT

DOCUMENTARY

The housing project could be a refuge

By Peter Dreier and
Kathy Huffhines

The D Street Columbia Point public housing projects—the former all-white, the latter almost all black and Hispanic—face each other across Boston harbor, each with broken windows, debris, angry graffiti and more than half the apartments vacant. They look like a testament to the failed dreams of well-intentioned reformers. But the former tenants of both projects, who lived there in the '50s and '60s remember trees (now torn down), grass and flowers (now paved over). They remember black and white families living and playing together, even taking turns polishing the door-knobs.

"We used to hang our clothes out to dry," says an ex-tenant of the D Street project, who occasionally returns to visit old friends. "Now they not only steal the clothes, they take the poles, too."

Are the former tenants just being sentimental? Or have we forgotten that America's public housing once worked well? According to *Down the Project*, Richard Broadman's fascinating one-hour documentary, public housing was destroyed by design, the work of government officials allied with the private real estate industry.

The film weaves this analysis into a colorful tapestry of interviews with current and former residents, project managers and Boston politicians and housing reformers. Old newsreels, film clips, photographs and newspaper headlines help describe the rise and decline of public housing—and how it could work again.

Race, *Down the Project* shows, is not the problem. The all-white project in South Boston is the mirror image of the mainly all-black and Hispanic Columbia Point project. The people living in the few apartments still occupied—most of them female-headed households on welfare—understand that they are the unwanted refugees of a housing system that has nothing better to offer. The Mary Ellen McCormack project, a 100-unit low-rise development less than a mile from D Street has few of the problems that plague the better-known projects: proof that "government can run housing, or anything else, if it wants to." Unfortunately the film focuses on the mismanagement and decay of D Street and Columbia Point—allowing little insight into the hows and ways of McCormack's success.

During the '20s, public housing was simply a dream of social reformers like Catherine Bauer

—"housers," as they were called then—who were inspired by European public housing. When the Depression came, public housing became all things to all people: Jobs for the labor movement, subsidies for the housing industry, patronage favors for urban machine politicians, a decent place to live for tenement dwellers and a chance to put their ideas into practice for the talented architects, social workers and planners.

But early compromises guaranteed that it would, in the words of early reformer Norton Long (interviewed on film),

steady job (who happened to be white), and triggering a flight to the suburbs. At the time Sen. Joseph McCarthy and the nation's real estate industry went after public housing, calling its advocates Communists and its purpose anti-American. Instead of filling government housing with stable working-class families, it was reserved only for the very poor and for welfare recipients. Then, when urban renewal came along to "clear the slums"—in reality, working class neighborhoods—public housing became the dumping ground for the displaced who couldn't find housing elsewhere. Still residents of both D Street and Columbia Point called the projects home and fought to make them livable.

Joanne Barboza, featured in the film, was one of those people. Today she is a high-level administrator with the state's Department of Social Services. When she and her three children moved into Columbia Point in 1959 after she separated from her husband, they were the 241st non-white family in the 1,504

demonstration. When a young girl was struck and killed by one of the 200 garbage trucks that passed the project each day, Barboza led a blockade of mothers and babies that stopped all traffic to the dump. They also marched on City Hall and the State House, until the courts prohibited all open-air burning at Columbia Point and across the city.

Barboza was also helped by the librarian who brought the "library on wheels" to the project, by the doctors at the onsite health center, by the project's social service agency and by her neighbors—black and white. Barboza left Columbia Point in 1970 because by then she was making too much money to qualify as a low-income resident.

"Columbia Point was a refuge for me," she said. "It gave me that extra time I needed to grow up. I needed to become an emotionally independent individual."

She says there were many others like her and her children (all of whom attended college). Other

as Boston residents call it, it exploded. Whites could no longer hang out, shop or go to the movies with their black friends. A cocky working-class white teenager at the D Street project looks straight at the camera "You don't have to be afraid around here...unless you're black." Even Joanne Barboza argues that busing and tenant selection rulings were simply ways for white liberals to force poor whites and blacks together.

"We don't have integrated private housing," she observes. "Why force it on public housing?"

Not all the tenants agree, however, that it was busing and welfare tenants that ruined the community. "Give us a little bit of money, honey, and a little bit of control and we'll make Columbia Point work," says Terri Maer, a black resident.

The new condo.

The tenants fear money will revitalize the projects, but not for their sakes. Harry Spence, the court-ordered "receiver" of the Boston Housing Authority, man-

Now Boston's public housing might get revived—for the benefit of "fancy folk."

dated to turn public housing around, endorses the sale of public housing to private developers as "a workable hypothesis." Spence, a young reformer with a track record in nearby Cambridge and Somerville, insists that current residents won't be displaced, but he can't guarantee what social changes will occur when "the fancy folk"—as Barboza calls them—start moving in.

Why would "fancy folk" want to move to Columbia Point? Columbia Point, once an isolated tract of land near a city dump, has moved up in the world since the John F. Kennedy Library and the University of Massachusetts campus were built there in the mid-'70s, and is now valuable waterfront real estate. Developers have visions of tearing down the projects and constructing expensive condominiums.

Public housing currently accounts for less than 2 percent of all U.S. housing units—the lowest rate in all advanced industrial countries. *Down the Project* appears at a time when President Reagan is moving to destroy it completely. He advocates raising rents (in part by including food stamps as part of tenants' income), lowering operating budgets and taking back allocated construction funds. The recently-released President's Commission on Housing report advocates almost total return to the "free and unregulated" private market to provide housing.

The report plays on stereotypes and myths about public housing, stereotypes that many Americans share. *Down the Project* chips away at those misconceptions.

Peter Dreier teaches sociology at Tufts University and Kathy Huffhines writes on film for *The Cambridge Express*. For film information write CineResearch, 32 Fisher Ave., Roxbury, MA 02120.



DOWN THE PROJECT's look at public housing history (above, the Mission Hill project in 1941) contains some surprising successes.

"self-destruct." Public housing was privately financed and built by private developers with little regard for cost and long-term debt. Real estate interests vetoed the use of mass production techniques to keep costs down. Local housing authorities—dominated by banking and real estate interests—controlled site and tenant selection process and kept public housing out of communities.

Isolation and respect.

In the '50s, the private housing industry got back on its feet, thanks to government insurance and tax breaks promising the "American Dream" of home ownership to anyone with a

apartments. Most were husband-and-wife families with steady jobs.

The Columbia Point project was built in 1954 next to a city dump where garbage was burned across the harbor from the rest of the city. "I considered the isolation its most redeeming feature," Barboza recently told the *Boston Phoenix*. "We had grass, we had flowers, and we had excellent bus service. It was like living in a small town with all the amenities of the big city."

Joanne Barboza became a volunteer at the project's community center, was an active parent in the schools and organized the city's first major public housing

er residents recall the good times, the baseball games, the family outings and the inter-racial friendships.

"You didn't know what color was," recalls Ruth Morrison, a white tenant who has lived at Columbia Point since it opened in 1954.

Their explanation for the projects' rapid decline in the past decade—explanations that the filmmakers seem to share—focus on court-ordered busing and the infusion of poor and "problem" families mandated by court rulings.

Racial tension was always just below the surface in both projects, but with "forced busing,"



"Mi Madre," by Juan Sanchez

VISUAL ARTS

The outrage of the artist

By Lucy R. Lippard

About 13 years ago, antiwar activist Ron Wolin and I asked a number of artists we respected to design posters opposing the Vietnam war. The artists, many of whom were downright famous, took the idea seriously. But the results, while often decorative and/or clever, were disappointing. At the time I didn't understand why, or what we were demanding.

I've since realized it takes years to develop a formally effective way to express social outrage, and there are few models, since activist art isn't exactly taught in schools. You can't just drop in and make a good oppositional artwork, no matter how good you are. It's a highly specialized task, like the development of any other art form. And you've got to find time and energy for political organizing and education, because in this field, to be out of touch is to be out of steam.

Moreover, "political art" has never been defined and is still in its infant stages. Many still labor under the delusion that it is a creature of the left, that establishmentarian neutrality is not "political." Others see no middle-ground between propaganda and prettifying. Now and then the artworld tolerance for "political art" expands a bit and topicality briefly becomes popular, because of pressures from the outside world. At the same time, alas, the term itself veers toward

meaninglessness.

I can recall two such periods—1968 and 1975—and now we seem to be into another one. The time seems ripe to air a few related issues, to avoid divisiveness and also to sharpen our analyses as we approach the inevitable peak of attention during the nuclear freeze campaign.

I have mixed feelings about this phenomenon. On the one hand, I'd like (ideally) all artists to be socially responsible people,

share of the too-small pie reserved for "political art," especially when the newcomers' politics are naive, nonexistent or even hostile to the left. And on the third hand, nobody wants to discourage anyone from joining up, so any such dog-in-the-mangerism has to be scrutinized not only with guilt but also with honesty and a certain pragmatism.

In the mid-'70s there was a tendency among progressive art groups to criticize everyone who wasn't correcter than correct. Since nobody knew what that was, everybody got criticized, severely limiting the possibility for any strong theory or praxis to emerge before it got shot down. If you ventured into the art world to educate and to make

There are also cries of careerism and co-optation, in which the most difficult of our contradictions are exposed. One kind of co-optation is when you or your work get used by the dominant culture differently than you had intended, or it gets neutralized by the wrong context. But as Jerry Kearns has pointed out, there's another, perhaps more lethal kind of co-optation—when you censor yourself because of fear, defeatism or rage, when you let go of the notions of beauty, scale, complexity and visionary grandeur, when you get backed up against the copying machine forever. It's not easy to figure out one's individual options between the extremes—total immersion in the queasy ethics of the art commodity system or furious rejection of all it stands for, which can lead to the wrong noses getting cut off to spite the wrong faces.

Making banners.

As the disarmament movement swells and trembles, visual artists are mobilizing in numbers unseen since the invasion of Cambodia sparked the intense, if short-lived, Art Strike. Our image-makers—grassroots and avant-garde—are once again struggling to elevate slogans to symbols, to provide, literally, the banners beneath which the people will march to doom or defiance. The present political situation, with its demand for fast answers, is not only sending conscious artists into the streets, but into their studios as well, where they are taking a deeper look at their long-term needs and goals.

So it's a good time to consider distinctions between activist art and a progressive high art—that is, an art designed to participate directly in structural change, one that criticizes existing structures

from more of a distance—always bearing in mind that the two are often made by the same artists for different contexts. With a little luck, all this activity will also defuse the terror many artworld artists have of being "used" by the left, and reveal the ways orders from the right somehow escape this onus.

I've seen a batch of "political" shows in the last month or two, some in unexpected places. When I expressed frustration with their unevenness, a friend pointed out that most of the high art we see in galleries represents a year's or several years' work. "Timely" shows, on the other hand, are reactive; they have to tackle one issue after another—a scattershot technique partially forced on us by previous invisibility and lack of support or communication.

This leaves little time to analyze and comprehend form and content when the content, at least, keeps changing. But the

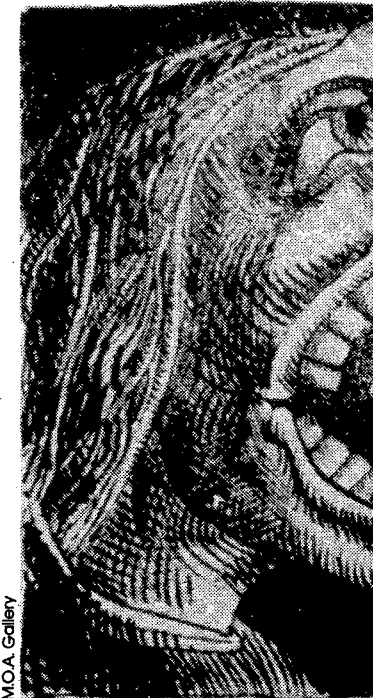
The present political situation is sending socially-conscious artists into the streets. But it's driving them back into their studios as well.

whatever their art is. I'd like a healthy portion of them to be involved in both professional and grassroots productions that deal with specific issues and work directly with activist groups. On that hand, I'm really happy to see more and more visual artists jumping on the anti-Reagan and pro-disarmament bandwagon, because the support is always great to have and I know from past experience that a few will stay with us for the long haul, once the band stops playing.

On the other hand, it can be hard for those who have worked steadily for years to watch newcomers (a few of them dilettantes and opportunists) get a modest

your alternatives visible, somebody would say you'd been assimilated, ripped off or sold out. If you stayed in your studio and worked because it had become important to prove that the left had "quality" too, that diverted your energies from collective work and somebody said you'd opted out.

There has also been a tendency to cry Stalinist at anyone who has done their homework and tried to develop a political analysis of their own. Then there's the avant-garde anarchism that holds out for the "freedom" of art to be caring, but disconnected from any structures formed with an eye to change.



MOA Gallery

urgency also engenders a growing political consciousness and a spontaneous immediacy lacking in much "high art." Few progressive artists have been able to put all their energy into development of a formal vocabulary for political analysis, and fewer still have not frequently dropped their individual research to support this or that demo, issue or theme show. At the social core of the contradictions, progressive artists work is in the relationship between individual and collective artmaking. At the esthetic core is the relationship between form and politics.

Both in the galleries and in the streets, we are seeing a lot of skulls, bombs, missiles, suggestions for Raygun control, bloody dollar signs and TMI reactors, top hats and rags, peasants and generals, mutants and mushrooms, flames and fists. Extremes. I'm not making fun of these images. As emblems they can be used with force and directness, sometimes with subtlety and freshness. June 12th proved that. What finally counts, though, is how deeply they reach, whether they are merely provocative or provoke thought and action as well.

Clarity and extremes.

The art on June 12 had three basic mandates: to make people terrified of nuclear war, *not* to make people feel helpless before their terror, and to help them understand its roots in domestic and foreign policy, or state terrorism. Clearly you can't reach out to a million people, no matter how brilliant your talents and good your intentions, unless you know what you think about the issues on a level more complex than basic ban-the-bomb black.

At "The Fate of the Art"—a recent Political Art Documentation and Distribution-sponsored evening of slides and discussion to evaluate the visual contributions to June 12—there were several passionate pleas for political clarity as well as esthetic integrity. The issue of words (any? how many?) in visual art came up, as it always does. For instance, one woman raised the interesting problem of cross-rhetoric, such as the parallels between the anti-war "Choose Life" and the anti-abortion "Pro-Life" slogans.

If there's a plethora of extremes—of victims and enemies—in oppositional art, it's not the artists' fault. The art isn't going to go beyond the politics, just as on an individual basis it can't go beyond the artist's own politics. For this reason, the compromised notion of a nuclear freeze looks cool to artists whose liberalism turns reactionary when

they perceive the strings attached—the vital cords of non-intervention, anti-racism and sexism, redirection of funds to social needs and unilateral U.S. disarmament.

At one point during the June 12th evaluation, someone summed up the steps toward a strategic marriage of political clarity and imaginative form: Decide what image to make, where and how best to display it, and *why*

ed outrage. I'm told that in the barrio, Sanchez' work has inspired and organized for years now. In the art world, it opens us up to new ways of seeing what surrounds us.

Like street demonstrations, "political art shows" sometimes seem primarily to reinforce the commitments of the artists and other converted participants. This is no small thing, much as we also pursue a broader effec-

artist's name. It turned out to be Peter Gourfain, whose abstract sculpture I'd admired since the mid-'60s. In May he had a show at the MOA Gallery in New York.

In the drawings and raucous clay reliefs shown there, and in the demo banners and big cartooned pots and monumental sculptures not seen there, Gourfain's dominant motif is a double frieze of wild-eyed "Romanesque" heads in profile, toothy

consciousness, to produce an unexpected explosion of serial art. Rather than looking to specific issues and then trying to find a form in which to best express his opinions, he has found his form in the history of art itself. Romanesque relief, Celtic illumination, and the Coptic *elan* of Ethiopian "primitivism" are fused with a raw energy resembling the powerful alienation of a few "New Wave" artists.

I don't know if Gourfain calls himself a Marxist, but he is certainly a materialist in the grandest sense. His use of the Romanesque style reminds us how ancient the struggle is. His figures convey The People without resorting to proletarian clichés. They tug and haul at each other, upside down and rightside up, entwined in desperate contact, never at rest, humanity caught in serpentine human-made coils. Some seem to be giving and some taking away, some building and some betraying. Consumption competes with communication.

The gaunt, bearded figures (virtually all men and apparent self-portraits) talk in objects and body parts, suggesting the Celtic urge to transformation through hybrids of form and action. The determined oralism of Gourfain's imagery might be about the contemporary artist's hunger for the love, respect, dignity and power denied him in this society. Visual artists are not supposed to know how to talk—one way of keeping them in the infantile pattern of unfocused anger and dependence appropriate to the art-world playpen. Actually, not many people are given a voice in this word-riddled society, and what is said often resembles the crap pouring from the mouths of Gourfain's protagonists.

In his banners, in his monumental terra-cotta relief doors commemorating the Kent State murders, and in the giant *Roundabout*, a 9x22-foot wooden tower depicting a whole history of political struggle...in all of these, Gourfain does what left artists are supposed to do. He makes our dissatisfaction tangible and urges us on to criticism and resistance. His subjects are often not explicit, and his iconography is often ambiguous. His art is straining at its bonds, trying to do what art can't do yet.

A silkscreen in the show—brasher than the drawings—does include words. It says "Much has been said. Now much must be done."

Lucy R. Lippard writes frequently on art and politics in *The Village Voice*. She excerpted this article from a series that appeared there in May and June.



Puppet at June 12 disarmament rally, New York

you made it. The answer to this last part can't be simply, I wanted to participate, I had to express my outrage. I had a good idea, it sounded like a challenge, it was okay to visit but I wouldn't want to live there. Complex and effective activist art evolves, almost organically, from deep-seated political conviction, usually rooted in one's own life-experience.

Take the work of Juan Sanchez, seen in May at the Intar Latin American Gallery. Sanchez' art is so much more effective than most not only because he is a damn good painter, but also because of his passionate and unconflicting commitment to the cause of Puerto Rican independence. He skillfully fuses experimental oil-painting techniques, which he uses as a frame or background with an inventive span of patterns, colors, images and words, with more urgent street mediums through his own photos. He integrates photographs, graffiti, slogans, collaged leaflets, a drawing by his mother, poetry, quotations from Puerto Rican culture heroes and activists (many of them women) and archeological motifs from the Taino Indians. Each painting represents and communicates an entire culture as well as a direct-

ness. Yet such shows also demonstrate that subjects like race, class, sex, militarism and unemployment can fit into the same art molds as any other subject. This in turn combats taboos but can be depressing, because we work in a context in which form dominates and content continues to be submerged. It is therefore exhilarating to find artists who are getting it all together, usually after long, hard work both in and out of both art and political domains.

Ferocious impatience.

A year ago, a friend showed me slides of a banner he'd photographed at an El Salvador demonstration. It was a fierce, brilliantly colored frieze of helmeted heads over a mass of smaller figures divided by a river of knife-like flames. He didn't know the

mouths gaping open to swallow or to spew out grasping hands and various object-symbols—coins, nails, a fish, a wrench, pliers, paintbrushes. The impact of this iconography of need and greed is almost physiological. I felt a kind of visual gag reflex.

Gourfain's subject matter might be a ferocious impatience with what people do to each other. Grimacing with anxiety and anguish, unable to shut up, heads and legs imprisoned in chairs, or boating desperately on a sea of fire, his repeated figures make physical such social emotions as despair and anger about corruption or war, and the possible incompatibility of humanism and human beings.

A former Minimalist, Gourfain uses repetition and cross-reference, fertilized by a red-diaper baby's complex political con-

The art isn't going to go beyond the politics, just as on an individual basis it can't go beyond the artist's own politics.



Peter Gourfain's "Omnivorous Hunger"

Budget

Continued from page 16

solve, or paper over, its social dilemmas has been fueled by credit—an enormous expansion of mortgages, consumer installment debt and corporate bonds and short-term notes. Cut this credit flow off abruptly and a chain reaction could occur, with devastating effects on output, income and employment. Keep the credit pyramid growing and inflation will surely be perpetuated, with the risk of an even worse collapse later.

Reagan's "free market" ideology will hardly resolve this contradiction. And certainly his reckless, military-dominated budget will aggravate it by keeping interest rates high. Add to this the president's new restrictions on steel imports and his ban on sales of equipment for the Soviet gas pipeline by European subsidiaries of American companies and all the ingredients for an international trade war fall into place.

With the international financial system already being tested by continued overvaluation of the dollar, devaluations of the French franc and Italian lira, and possible defaults on Western bank loans to underdeveloped countries and Warsaw Pact nations, Ronald Reagan may yet rival Herbert Hoover.

Richard B. Du Boff teaches economics at Bryn Mawr College.

Morocco

Continued from page 6

current budget but less than the average annual assistance provided during the Carter administration. The only new offer is of \$6 million per annum (\$30 million altogether) in economic support funds, which reflects congressional pressure for greater emphasis on economic assistance.

The purpose of the \$200 million program, according to State Department officials, is to assist Morocco in the production of dryland wheat. Several American-financed (AID) projects are already underway to help Moroccan farmers cope with drought and other causes of crop losses, though the Reagan administration has been criticized in Rabat for failing to do as much as the French during the recent protracted drought. In the current financial year, Moroccan grain imports (on concessional terms) are estimated to be 229,000 metric tons from the U.S. and 800,000 metric tons from France.

On May 27, the King's foreign minister, Mohammed Boucetta, returned to Washington to initial, with Sec. of State

Alexander Haig, a pact for the American use of Moroccan bases. Although the terminology used by U.S. officials intentionally avoids "bases"—preferring "facilities"—instead—this is a distinction without operational significance. According to testimony given to Congress in 1981 by Robert Pelletreau, then-Deputy Assistant Sec. of Defense for Near Eastern, African, and South Asian Affairs, the crucial difference "is the restriction that these are facilities that belong to host countries (and) available for use in certain contingencies."

They are bases for American military operations that fly the flags of the country that owns the land. In the '50s and '60s, U.S. bases in Morocco flew the American flag. At the time, Washington informed King Hassan and his father, Mohammed V, that Morocco wasn't entitled to fly its flag because the land legally belonged to France, the colonial administrator of the kingdom until its formal independence in 1956.

The U.S.-Morocco pact is a secret one, but an outline of its contents has been made available. The two governments have agreed on authorization for the U.S. to extend and strengthen runways and parking aprons at several Moroccan airfields to accommodate heavy cargo and troop transports, aerial fuel tankers and B-52 bombers. Storage tanks and bunkers for aircraft fuel, ammunition, missiles, and other equipment for Marine and Army forces will also be built.

Nuclear warheads were stored on Moroccan territory until 1963—they may be again under the new agreements. Communications facilities are to be extended for long-range aerial patrols of the East and South Atlantic and Western Mediterranean.

Both governments are sensitive about spelling out in too great detail what may or may not be allowed under the pact. The King's senior military officers have had a different conception of their country's national interests, and in the past have twice attempted to liquidate the King to achieve them. In recent months, Hassan has on more than one occasion lectured officers that he knows that they are scheming against him and has warned them that they are dead if they make a move.

U.S. interests are not quite the same as they were 25 years ago. But one fundamental U.S. objective hasn't changed: the preservation of King Hassan's throne as an ally of the West.

Right now, the King's war policy is shaking the supports of his throne; not even the Saudis, who have been financing Morocco's arms purchases and subsidizing the desperate economy, are as devoted to the prolongation of the war as the Reagan administration's representatives in Rabat. And so the King's private conversations in Washington re-

flected a mutual but tacit concern that the secret pact will also provide the throne with American military help if Hassan needs it in an emergency.

Claudia Wright is a Washington correspondent for the New Statesman and Temoignage Chretien, the socialist weeklies of London and Paris.

Guerrilla

Continued from page 7

the March coup. The tactics are similar to those now being advocated by U.S. advisors for government troops in El Salvador.

The helicopter then touched down in the village of Cunén, where about 500 people were waiting in a soccer field for a Sunday morning religious-military ceremony to celebrate the creation of civil defense camps in surrounding towns and to officially petition the army for better weapons for the village units.

Francisco Bache, a weekend preacher in the Fundamentalist Assembly of God church, gave a rousing patriotic sermon that ended with many listeners "speaking in tongues." "He who resists authority is resisting that which has been established by God. He who lacks God in his heart is the one who is unable to love the authorities," he said.

A 19-year-old second lieutenant in charge of the Chiul firebase spoke about the new civil defense organizations and was followed by Captain Lopez, who proclaimed the "union of army, religion and authorities of the state."

The rally was enthusiastic and apparently unrehearsed as observed by the reporters, whose arrival was unanticipated. Later, back at the Santa Cruz Del Quiche base, four obviously poor peasants said they had come to report guerrilla activity near their town, Rancho de Teja. Officers mustered four well-equipped infantry patrols—including a patrol of about 20 men dressed in civilian clothes—to be trucked to the town.

A common charge in reports of massacres in Indian villages is that the killing was carried out by non-uniformed men.

Rios Montt's program became clear in July after he imposed the state of siege. Besides suspending individual rights—which Rios Montt said were never respected under previous governments—political observers said the most damaging effect of the restrictions was to kill the nascent dialogue between political parties and the government.

In effect, the state of siege means not only that political parties are banned, but also that the government has discarded all possibility of seeking a political solution to end the war.

Instead, a moderate political leader said, the government has opted for a military strategy that "sets peasant against peasant, Indian against Indian." "This is extremely dangerous," another opposition politician said. "It will eliminate any chance an Indian has of staying neutral. And it will give rise to all sorts of local hatred and vendettas."

A Western diplomat said that militarily the plan had little chance of success. "There's no way they can wipe out the guerrillas," he said. "Nothing's been added except more bodies."

In Huehuetenango, a source who had lived for many years in the disputed northern area gave another picture of the way the civil defense system works. An army patrol came to a town of about 5,000 in early July, he said, and read the names of 40 people told to report for civil defense duty. Ten turned up and were taken away in an army truck for what the soldiers said was "training." Two days later, the source said, villagers found the bodies of the 10 dumped along the highway with their throats slit.

That was a "terror tactic," the source said, to warn the rest of the villagers to serve and as reprisal against some of the 10, who reportedly cooperated in a guerrilla food distribution in the village several months before.

Russians

Continued from page 24

Russia. I want to write for Russians about Russia—our culture and our rich heritage." But for now, neither Juri nor his wife—both of whom are brilliant and talented—feel their society offers them a way to use their abilities. Part of their problem is that they are both educated in the humanities, which are not innovative—he in literature, and she in philosophy. The hard sciences, where constructive outlets for intelligence exist, are quite popular. Overall though, the intelligence and energy of this impressive group of young people is massively misdirected.

This hip, well-heeled set is the first generation

Continued on facing page

CALENDAR

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Continued from the facing page
eration to live beyond necessity. But while their affluence has brought them freedom from want, they want more freedom. They want the freedom to consume digital watches, calculators, TVs, stereos, fancier clothes and make-up, cars and big houses.

In Minsk, Igor talked to us, incessantly it seemed, about his dream of going to the U.S. His girlfriend Anna has relatives in Chicago so the "dream" could be realized.

If so, it could turn into a nightmare. Anna and Igor showed us their shopping list for all the consumer goods they were going to buy with their first American paycheck. Their list did not include housing (taking as much as 40 percent of their American salary), medical care, insurance for unemployment, old age, and their car. (They thought it would be so

wonderful to own a car, while we kept thinking how good it would be to live in the country in the Soviet Union and not have to own one to get to the cities.) They looked blank and uncomprehending when we told them what the high American salary would not buy.

Neither has any idea what the work ethic means in a capitalist system riddled with unemployment. The Soviet Union has too many jobs and too few people. Furthermore, the workers of the new post-scarcity Russia work with old European style and grace—not very fast and not very hard.

Igor and Anna are so innocently secure in their Soviet cocoon that they assumed American society, too, provides a social safety net. While they believe society should be more open—they talk of freedom of the press, freedom of music and freedom of ideas—

they exhibit none of the skills or attitudes necessary to compete in an open marketplace. Despite their worship of consumer goods, they display little sense of private property or the selfishness that makes capitalism flourish.

This contradiction surfaced one evening in the apartment of Igor and Anna (which cost them 15 rubles a month). Many of their friends joined us in their living room, which was papered with Western rock posters, to listen to the stereo play Western music. While all admired the beautiful life as advertised to them through the pages of the *Rolling Stone* and *Playboy* magazines laying on a coffee table, none of them could imagine competing with each other for jobs. They compete academically for university positions, but that is for intellectual advancement not monetary reward. (There is little correspondence

in the Soviet Union between academic degrees and salary.)

Their Western heroes and heroines—ranging from Kurt Vonnegut and Janis Joplin to Mick Jagger and Kiss—all express alienation from cultural surroundings just as the cosmic kids of Kremlin bureaucrats do. But they know they are being imitative, and thus recently they have resurrected the spirit and mien of Leo Tolstoy.

Along with another anti-hero of theirs—John Lennon—they can imagine no country, no religion, and no possessions, but they cannot imagine no jobs, no love, and a wolf at the door. Still, the dissent of privileged youth is a force that eventually must be reckoned with in the land of the aborted revolution.

Beth Tompkins-Bates is a farmer and Timothy Bates teaches economics at the University of Vermont.

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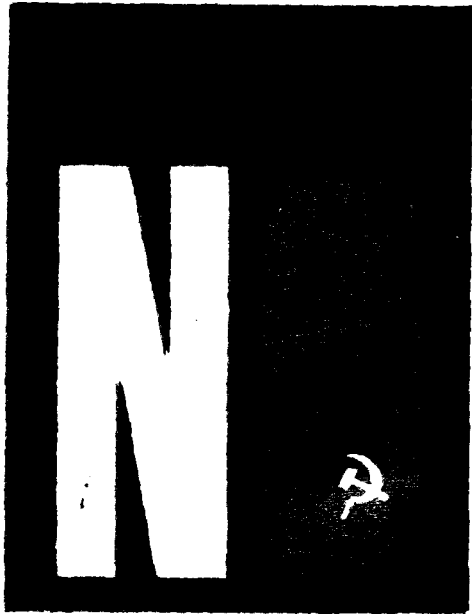
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By Beth Tompkins-Bates
and Timothy Bates

Affluent disco dancers swayed to the sounds of the Bee Gees, but the babbling drunk on our right was the son of a high-ranking Communist Party official. Our hosts that evening were professional black marketeers, who deal in such contraband as Levis, Japanese stereo components, and copies of *Rolling Stone*.

The KGB agent on our left was the hardest to believe. His boyish, smiling face and easygoing, friendly manner violated our image of the Soviet secret policeman. It was easier to believe that the two women with him were prostitutes. There was something universal about their appearance—the makeup, the high-heeled boots, the garish dress.

Before our trip to the Soviet Union, we had agreed to observe strict rules of good conduct. Don't sell jeans on the black market, don't get into political arguments. We never did sell any of our Levis, although the going rate of \$125 to \$150 per pair was certainly tempting. We refused outright to do business with the numerous Soviet black market types who politely approached us nearly every day. But we did have numerous political discussions.

Educated young Russians are fascinated with American culture. Discussions that began with Kurt Vonnegut novels or Mick Jagger songs went on for hours. After the second or third bottle of vodka, conversation would often shift to the nature of life in the Soviet Union. Except in Moscow, people spoke openly about their lives, frustrations and the good and bad features of Soviet society.

In the Soviet Union having the right connections is all-important—for college admissions, good jobs, access to consumer goods and for most other aspects of life.

The Soviet Union's official ideology is usually meaningless, and most Russians recognize this. A bureaucratic class has usurped all political power, and mediocrity rises to the top. Being bright and asking too many questions is a one-way ticket to trouble. Being a dedicated Marxist would definitely get one sent to jail.

Ivan was a 22-year-old Odessa medical student. Although enthusiastic about medicine, he admitted he entered the field after realizing he just did not have the right connections to pursue engineering, his first love. He ought to know about connections, since he comes from a long line of medical doctors. His father is a professor of medicine as well as head of his own clinic.

Ivan does not belong to the Communist Party, though he may join someday. About 10 percent of his university class

of 200 belong. "More will join later," he said, "because their career paths are more secure with Party credentials—not because they believe in their leaders, except as buffoons."

This was why Sasha, 28, and Leon, 30, two university lecturers in the social sciences from Minsk, joined the Party. We shared a train compartment with them from Minsk to Leningrad, and during the 12-hour ride we asked big questions: Do many people really believe the Party line? "But of course, all do," Leon replied as he rolled his eyes.

If Party connections don't work, bribery will. Petty corruption is rampant and open. It is an important way of making the society less rigid and more functional. (The whole system recalled life inside the federal government.) One night a doorman barred us from a fashionable Leningrad restaurant because we were not "properly" dressed. "Never mind, he's just a peasant," our friend observed as her boyfriend marched off to find the head waiter. Within minutes we—all in Levis and tennis shoes—were led graciously past the other customers in long skirts, high heels, suits and ties. "It took only a 20 rouble note (\$30)," our hosts explained.

The Soviet Union is a fairly prosperous society and no one has to worry about the wolf at the door. Food, shelter, utilities, mass transit, medical care—all the basics—cost next to nothing. Food is cheap, an apartment goes for from 14 to 20 rubles a month—\$21 to \$30 a month—medical care is free, and public transport is everywhere, cheap and frequent. The stores are short on beef and pork, which the Russians seem to love dearly, but there is rarely a line at the poultry counter. The fish counter is usually abandoned (except for the fish), unless the line of shoppers waiting for vodka spills over in front of the fish department.

The low cost of basics means the average wage earner has money left over for vodka, cassette tapes of U.S. and British rock groups and fashionable clothes. The black market in such items is universal and tolerated—affluent Party officials and their children want to buy these items. One black marketeer in Minsk told us that he regularly sold Levis to police. He gave them a moderate discount off the \$150 going rate.

Most educated young people take pride in not joining the Party. Popular pastimes include drunkenness, single-minded consumerism and slavish dedication to Western rock music. We asked a group of black marketeers who approached us on the streets of Kiev, "But, why do you like Levis so much?" One young man pulled out his wallet and flashed a picture of Mick Jagger. "Because he wears them," he said.

Others escape through a combination of rock music and fads such as Eastern religions or rigorous practice of Korean martial arts. That is the focus of Juri's life. In his early 20s, Juri lives in Leningrad with his wife and their new baby. "We don't think much about the greater world any more. My wife and I center our thoughts and efforts on our baby and things like meditation. We live in a microcosm of the greater society and it is there that we find our place," Juri explained.

What would he most like to do? "To write, but to write for my people and my country." He has no interest in escaping to the West like a Solzhenitsyn. "I don't want to write for foreigners about

Continued on page 22



The younger generation in Russia longs for the freedom to buy designer jeans.

STIZEDITION